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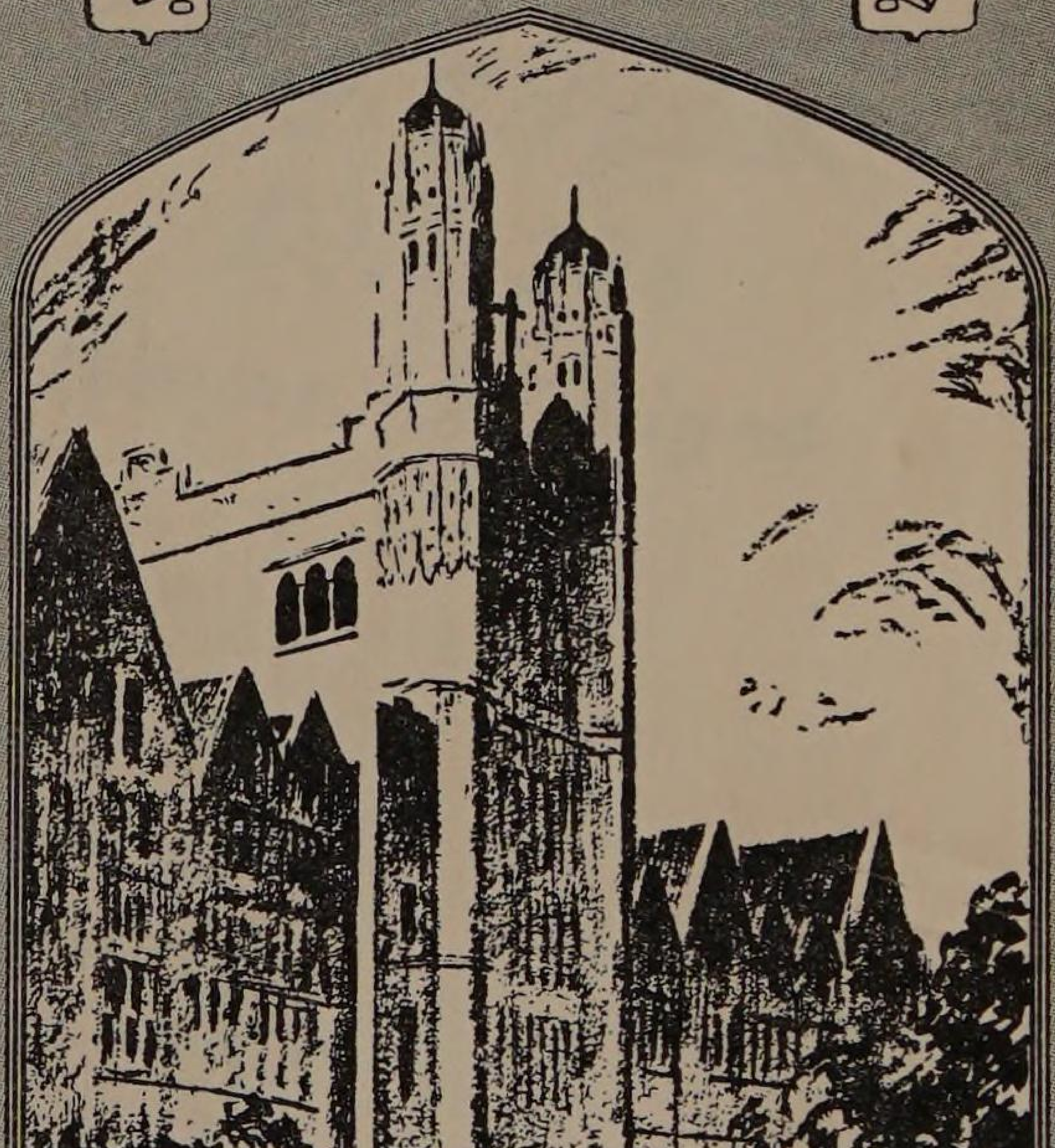

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Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses

1931-1932

Published By
THE RADIO LEAGUE OF THE LITTLE FLOWER

FR. COUGHLIN URGES BONUS

Detroit Priest Pleads Veterans' Cause Before Senate Committee.

WASHINGTON, April 12.—(AP)—Against the united opposition of Administration and Democratic leaders in Congress, advocates of a $2,400,000,000 cash payment on the soldiers' bonus today pressed their case before the House Ways and Means Committee.

The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, of Detroit, introduced by Rep. Wright Patman (Dem.), Texas, sponsor of the measure, read a prepared statement before a crowded committee room.

He said the Reconstruction Finance Corp. was hurried through both the House and Senate to make available $2,000,000,000 of public funds "for financing financiers and strengthening tottering railroads."

Fr. Coughlin said that within six weeks of the passage of the Reconstruction Act he had received over 1,500,000 letters saying:

"If the Government can pay $2,000,000,000 to the bankers and the railroads to whom it owes no obligations, why should it not pay $2,000,000,000 to the soldiers to whom it recognizes an obligation?"

"To pay this bonus will enable 8,000,000 idle and part-time veterans to purchase some of the necessities of life," he said. "That would put $2,000,000,000 into channels of commerce and trade.

"It will compel us to revalue the American dollar to the approximate level it attained in 1929. It will probably throw us off the gold standard.

"Revaluation of the dollar will come eventually, either legally or revolutionary. We have given the last transfusion to the sickly economic system of this country and soon will have a corpse on our hands. The Reconstruction Finance Corp. has done little good.

"If we do not revalue the dollar legally—remember Russia of 1917; remember the French Revolution; remember our own revolution of 1775."

Jos. P. Snyder
Wayne Mich
1932

Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses

1931-1932

By
THE REV. CHAS E. COUGHLIN

Preached from the Pulpit
of the
Shrine Of The Little Flower,
Royal Oak, Michigan
and Broadcast
Over a National Network

Published By
THE RADIO LEAGUE OF THE LITTLE FLOWER
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN
March 1932 A. D.

Nihil Obstat

RT. REV. M. J. GRUPA, D.D., LL. D.
Censor Librorum

Imprimatur

RT. REV. M. J. GALLAGHER, D.D.
✠ Bishop of Detroit

Detroit, Michigan, March, 1932

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Published by
The Radio League of the Little Flower

Printed in the United States of America by
THE CONDON PRINTING CO., DETROIT

Dedication

To my parents, to my teachers, and to those faithful few who have worked and worried with me in preparing these sermons do I humbly dedicate this book.

May the message folded away in its pages remind the reader that Christ has not forsaken the multitude and that the principles of Christ's religion will continue to multiply the loaves.

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The Toppling Tower

A Religious Ancestry

IN one sense these twenty-seven weeks of "The Golden Hour" broadcast to which we look forward belong in nowise to me nor to the Shrine of the Little Flower. They are twenty-seven weeks dedicated to Jesus Christ and to the principles which He taught; twenty-seven weeks devoted to the people of the United States irrespective of creed or race insofar as we are all brothers and sisters of our Divine Master.

Both collectively and individually we have turned our eyes upon the forlorn figure of Calvary. We are learning to look upon Him as the solitary hope wherein lies the solution for our personal and national ailments; for our temporal and eternal happiness.

If ever in the history of our lives or of our nation the need of God and of His help and guidance have been experienced, it is today. In common with the nations of the world a great portion of our population is prostrate in suffering and in grief. No human agency seems capable of bringing us relief.

Through the years of the nineteenth century we passed into an era of unprecedented prosperity. Our cities thrived with the progress of industrialism. The naked plains of our far flung prairies were clothed with the garments of golden grain. The arid wastes of our desert states broke into fountains of precious oils. Every day there was chronicled the romance of wealth and of power.

However, the gospel of greed gradually supplanted the Gospel of Christ. It became more and more evident that we were measuring happiness and prosperity by the yardstick of material wealth.

Gold and silver, bricks and mortar, these became our gods and these too many of us adored.

More and more it became evident that the religion of our ancestors was inadequate and out of harmony with the new modernism and material demands with which we were confronted. We of America once boasted that Columbus carried the cross of Christ with him when he first set foot upon our shores. We were proud of the fact that Maryland had been settled by Catholics who fled Europe and its civilization to face the wilderness of America for the preservation of their faith. Did not the French Huguenot Protestants become pioneers in our forests for that same reason? Did not the Puritans set foot upon the hospitable shores of Massachusetts for a similar reason?

America would not have been settled so quickly and so thoroughly had not the torch of faith lighted the way for the pilgrims of yesterday; pilgrims who were glad to leave a continent that had put a price upon religion; stout hearted pilgrims who were ready to follow Brebouef and LaLemont and the Franciscan Friars into our new land rather than deny their faith and their morals.

If cities grew where pine trees waved; if eventually ribbons of steel and concrete highways supplanted the paths worn smooth by the wild deer, you can rest assured that the cross of Christ had preceded their making.

The Tower of Babel

But during these last few years religious practices have deteriorated.

Bear in mind, when making such a statement, I hope that I am not a pessimist. Neither am I an optimist. I take my stand between these two extremes endeavoring to be a plain, ordinary realist not afraid to face facts.

According to our governmental census figures we have approximately sixty-one per cent of our total population professing no affiliation whatsoever to any church.

While not impugning or criticizing the freedom of conscience we have another condition more worrisome than the one to which I have alluded.

I refer to the fact that we have over two hundred denominations of Christians whose teachings have become so contrary and hostile towards each other; whose inherent weaknesses are so manifest; whose hypocrisy sometimes is so tragic; and whose claims are so ludicrous that occasionally more harm than good has arisen from their preachments and policies.

In the tragedy of contradictions which they have enacted in their pulpits and in their conferences, we have witnessed them endeavoring to pull God down to the level of fallen nature rather than raise mankind to the level of God. Rather than think and act God's way, an effort has been made to force God to think and act man's way.

In a material age dedicated to the worship of the body rather than of the soul, and to the purse rather than to the heart, too many of the churches have kept pace step by step.

In the eleventh chapter of the Book of Genesis there is recollected a story reference to which is apposite in throwing light upon this condition. We read that originally *"the earth was of one tongue and of the same speech. When the people removed from the east they found a plain in the land of Senar. There each one said to his neighbor: Come let us make brick, and bake them with fire. And they had brick instead of stone and slime instead of mortar. And they said: Come let us make a city and a tower, the top whereof may reach to heaven: And let us make our name famous before we be scattered into all lands."*

My friends, you are well acquainted with what resulted from this attempt to build the Tower of Babel. Dissatisfied with God's way of acquiring heaven and happiness, the children of Noah made the great discovery that they could not attain heaven through brick and mortar. They who formerly were of one tongue, of one speech and of one faith were the forefathers of the two hundred and more tongues and faiths of modern babbling Christianity whose adherents like the builders of the Tower of Babel are checkmated from further progress because they have preferred to seek the kingdom of God and the heaven of happiness according to man's brick and mortar way and not according to the method of the crucified Christ.

However, the Tower of Babel which we have helped to build has fallen. In 1914 the thunders of the bloody commercial war burst upon the unsuspecting nations. Upon the altar of Europe's battlefields, millions of valiant yet ignorant and innocent victims were sacrificed. When the slaughter ceased, we were confident that the world had been made safe for democracy and happiness. The reign of peace had come, so we thought.

What poor prophets we were! The armistice marked not the close of an era but only a brief halt in the march of events. The Treaty of Versailles is signed. The League of Nations comes into existence. The Eighteenth Amendment becomes a law of the land. Women get the suffrage. Sacco and Vanzetti murder a paymaster in South Braintree, Massachusetts. The Unknown Soldier is laid to his rest. The conference for the limitation of armaments is held in Washington. The French march into the Ruhr and out again after having choked Germany into submission. An earthquake destroys Tokio. Leopold and Loeb go to prison for life for the murder of the Franks boy. Germany enters the League. Florida has a hurricane. Fall, Doheny and Sinclair fight their ways through the courts with varying success. Al Capone is the undisputed king of the underworld and sometimes reaches into the over-world. Revolutions and evolutions move swiftly. Dictatorships are born and democracies are struggling to keep alive!!!

Drowned out by this swift tempo of events which beat their staccato upon the minds of an unsuspecting people a greater war merged to the top in this seething cauldron. This was a war of silver bullets and golden coins.

Meanwhile, the nations have been awakened from their sleep after having passed through this decade of artificial prosperity. Ten years ago we talked much of the passing of monarchies. Today just as many democracies have succumbed before the onrush of events as monarchies did in the immediate post-war period. Yesterday we were busy reconstructing broken bridges and shattered factories, hoping for prosperity. Today we are turning our minds to reconstructing the heart of the world from which as yet there has not been eliminated the greed and the hatred and the godlessness which produced the catastrophe of 1914.

As in retrospect we glance over the ten years of reconstruction which have just passed it is easy for us to ascertain that the reconstructionists were bent upon assimilating the wealth of the world into the hands of the few. The great banks of France and of the United States in this new financial war became the victors. Four-fifths of the commercial gold of the world was captured by them. One-thirty-third of one per cent of our population quickly gained control of most of our nation's wealth. And with more money than ever before in our history deposited in our banks, with enough wheat stored in our granaries to feed the entire world for the next three years even though another grain were not produced, we are faced with the spectacle of stark starvation!

Is it any wonder that distrust has grown in our minds for the pseudo-leaders who are looking for things to adjust themselves; who are loud in condemning anyone who dares confront facts; and whose sole policy seems bent upon protecting the god of gold and his gospel of greed? They have not learned from the tottering Tower that happiness, heaven and prosperity are unattainable by means of brick and mortar and hoarded gold. Must it come crashing down upon their heads, before they will awaken from their stupidity? Will not the American people turn to their Christ and to His principles before it is too late? My answer to that last rhetorical question is a positive "Yes."

Truly, I believe that we are glad to forget the depression as it has been called—a depression wherein this god of materialism has betrayed us; a depression in a greater sense in which we witnessed the decay of Christ's ideals. No wonder that we are glad to turn back to our King, the solitary hope for our personal and national salvation. His language, His policies, His faith alone can save us.

A Necessary Foundation

Primarily, my friends, these broadcasts are of a religious nature. Under the patronage of the Little Flower, who passed from this world in the year 1897 and whose ambition it was to become a missionary to men, it is our main object to lead souls back to God by preaching the moral virtue of religion which disposes us to give to God the worship that is due Him as the Supreme Lord of all.

At all times he who is ordained to preach religion proposes to wear the armor of truth at all costs. He plans to preach the gospel of justice and of charity and of Christ in season and out of season, opportunely and inopportunely according to St. Paul.

However, no religionist who is sincere ventures forth upon the battlefield of life either with hatred in his heart or with injustice in his actions. In his battle for righteousness he dares not countenance these vices which were condemned in no mean terms by Him Who is the light of the world. *"He who sayeth he loves God and hateth his neighbor is a liar and the truth is not in him,"* spoke Jesus Christ. *"Whatsoever you do unto the least of My little ones you do unto Me,"* so He reminds those of us who are tempted to practice injustice either under the guise of industrialism or capitalism or socialism or communism.

Thus, at the outset of this series of broadcasts, if I were asked to name the two most essential necessities of religion which we as a nation must adopt if we wish to continue in existence, I could do nothing else than repeat for you what Christ has taught centuries ago. *"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy whole mind and with thy whole soul. This,"* said He, *"is the first and greatest commandment, and the second is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments,"* concluded Jesus Christ, *"depend all the laws and the prophets."*

In other words, it is impossible to divorce religion from any phase of life. It is impossible likewise to separate the love of your neighbor from the love of God. I have just referred to sufficient Scriptural text to maintain these points. Reject them and the entire structure of civilization comes toppling down like the Tower of Babel. To one who professes Christianity, these mandates of Christ are so important that no success can be had without them as a foundation.

For, *"Upon this depends all the laws and the prophets,"* said Christ. Or, to express this in a more modern manner: "Unless you accept the love of God and this whole hearted practical love of your neighbor despite who or what he is, you may write your Magna Chartas and your Declarations of Independence. You may protest against your King John and his unreasonable policies, or against your King George IV and his taxation without representation. You may momentarily win in your protest and afterwards build up ramparts of law protecting real estate, bulwarks of legislation safeguarding your tariffs, criminal codes to insure your safety. But these shall be destroyed; for every law depends ultimately upon the well kept law of love of God and love of your neighbor.

"Or you may listen to your prophets," continues Christ, "Hear the wisdom of an Aristotle or of a Demosthenes who taught and inspired the Greeks. Follow the policies of the regal Roman Senators who ruled the destiny of the ancient empire. Listen to Lincoln, to Karl Marx, or to the august assembly of the League of Nations. Their councils and their theories shall vanish like the morning mist unless you love your God and love your neighbor not less than yourself but as yourself. For on these two commandments depend all the law and all the prophets. From these two commandments are derived all sovereignty, all civilization, and all political wisdom. There is neither lasting Magna Charta, nor permanent Declaration of Independence except founded upon the law of love."

Thus, not by bread alone doth man live. If you do not believe this, turn over the pages of your history. True, these pages will tell you that civilization has gone on. But they will also be very candid in telling you that nations who lived by the brick and mortar policy and whose creed was nothing more than the full dinner pail, have passed away.

Is it not true that the great kingdom of the Pharoahs has vanished? Where is the civilization of the Greeks except hidden between the covers of your classics and buried beneath the ruins of the Acropolis? Has not the flag of the Roman eagle been covered by the dust of time in the tomb of forgetfulness? Have not the nations who lived only upon the manna of human bread, of human truth, ceased to exist?

My friends, if there are any lessons to be learned from the past—a past that is strewn with the corpses of many civilizations—is there not this significant moral that it is impossible for either state or nation to subsist unless it eats of the bread which Christ shall give?

In this introductory sermon I have merely pointed out to you that the true highway to happiness and prosperity is along the road marked by One Who defined Himself as the Way, the Truth and the Life.

Full dinner pails come by adhering to the principle of the Leader Who is still with us; to the Leader Whose kingdom is love and Whose policy insists that the rich must love the poor as they love themselves; that the employer must love the employe as he does himself.

Therefore, let us cease bemoaning the fact that we have lost leadership. It is not leadership that we have lost. Rather, it is followership. If you and I, Catholic and Protestant and Jew and the great sixty-three per cent of our population who are irreligionists, begin to seek first the kingdom of God and His justice all things else shall be added unto us. If we put aside our futile policies of trying to find a way into heaven only through the medium of brick and mortar; if in America the majority of us begin to learn to speak Christ's tongue, use Christ's principles, adopt the same faith in Jesus our King, He will be with us all days until the consummation of the world.

A Prophecy

The time has come when as a nation we shall either learn to follow Christ and His principles of loving God and loving our neighbor in word and in deed or else we shall witness the present depression develop into a political revolution in which the participants guided only by human wisdom shall meet the fate of every organization which has attempted to build a Tower of Babel.

Greed must go! Charity must reign!

Dissension must cease. And in its place there must come the fulfillment of Christ's prophetic vision.

I refer to that vision when alone upon the mountain top there passed in panorama before Him the nations of the world. Each was pursuing happiness after its own way. His eyes rested not only upon the temples of the Greeks wherein vice had been made a virtue; not only upon the temples of Rome wherein war and slavery had been deified.

Down the centuries He went with Peter and James and John and Paul. He envisaged them as they preached to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Jews and the Iberians. He followed Patrick over the hills of Armagh and Tipperary. He smiled as He beheld Boniface reconstructing the hard hearts of his Druidical followers. He joyed with Austin who brought truth to the Britains. He was glad when the lamp of faith was lighted upon the shores of America and when Francis Xavier pushed on to the land of the orient.

But I imagine that I can almost see the Man of Sorrows weep bitter tears when He beheld the sordid conflicts, the bitter enmities, the wordy battles which rendered into fragments the ideals of Europe, the morals of America.

Has His work been all for nothing? Has His suffering been in vain? Oh, no! I see Him rise slowly. The tears are wiped from His eyes. The smile of hope brightens His countenance. And speaking alone in the wilderness to God, His Father, and to the myriad angels who surrounded Him, He gave voice to that most wonderful and hopeful prophecy which as yet has not been fulfilled.

Tomorrow He would tell it again to the Apostles whom He will gather about Him. Tomorrow He will picture to them the night He spent upon the hillside alone, no earthly creature about Him save the slumbering sheep. Tomorrow He will say: *"I am the Good Shepherd. I know Mine and Mine know Me. Other sheep there are not of this fold. But them, too, I must save. The Good Shepherd will leave the ninety and nine and will seek the one that is lost until He finds him. There shall be but one flock and one Shepherd!"*

Oh, those prophetical words of Christ! May they quickly come true! May there be one Lord, one baptism and one faith for all wherein together we speak the common language and raise the common voice of "Abba," "Father," putting aside our dissensions, and forsaking the building of man's Tower of Babel!

"Come, Follow Me"

Our Present Right and Duty

MORE than nineteen hundred years ago there appeared upon the stage of this world's triumphs and defeats its greatest personage.

Because of the turmoil which had preceded His birth, His coming was unnoticed by mankind. A little babe nestling in the arms of a virgin mother, saved from the chilling blasts only by the damp walls of a hillside cavern! Like millions of His fellow-men this little babe knew what poverty meant with its hunger and its thousand inconveniences.

Need I but more than suggest the troublesome course of His public life? Need I but more than intimate how His small army of followers whose hands were fortified only by the weapon of the cross, set forth to conquer an empire greater than that ever dreamed of by an Alexander, and to reduce to submission the Roman legions whose helmets had encircled the civilized world? It was not the empire as such that they were fighting. Rather it was the principles for which the empire stood to which they were opposed.

Nor was it a policy of destruction which motivated their mission. Rather it was the hope of reconstruction which beat within their breasts. "I came not to destroy but to upbuild," warned their Master. As if He had said: "I come to replace greed with generosity. I come to preach charity instead of selfishness. I come to abolish slavery and to set up liberty. I come to teach the principles which beget prosperity instead of poverty. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you."

Thus, with the Divine command ringing in their ears of: "Go ye, and preach the Gospel to every creature," Peter and Paul set foot within the imperial walls of pagan Rome.

Rome! The city of the Caesars! The city of the proletariat, or as the Latins interpreted that word, of the child bearing peasantry who were good for nothing else than to beget soldiers and more slaves! Rome whose coffers were filled with the priceless gems and coins of this world's wealth and whose streets were over-crowded with dispossessed citizens!

Behold them mingling with the slaves as they both lived on governmental bread and were cajoled by public theatricals! That was the stage and the setting upon which Peter and Paul stepped.

Day by day and week by week these Apostles assembled about them those who would learn of liberty and love and peace. Day by day these humble followers of the Divine Master emphasized the brotherhood of mankind and the common fatherhood of God. Day by day the numbers of their converts increased and likewise the hatred increased for them in the hearts of those who still adored their Mars of war and their Jupiter of selfish prosperity.

At length Peter was crucified, Paul was beheaded—martyrs as was Christ for disturbing the pagan equanimity of the rulers; for defying the man made gods and the man made philosophy which had multiplied slaves, prostituted womankind, and debased the human race under the yoke of a doctrine that "might is right and gold is god."

Today, my friends, there are those about us, unbelievers, some Protestants and some Catholics, ill-informed, who would protest against the followers of Christ in this twentieth century from raising Christian voice to preach the gospel of justice and charity to a world that has been bowed down in the midst of plenty, under the unnecessary yoke of poverty and the intolerable weight of greed; to a world whose civilization in many respects has dropped to the level of that of pagan Rome.

What Are We Doing?

But insofar as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church dare avail himself of this opportunity, he can do nothing better to substantiate his position than to quote the leader of the Church, Pius XI, who says: "Before proceeding . . . we lay down the principle long since established by Leo XIII that it is our right and our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems."

During the months which have elapsed since the fall of 1929 until this present moment, the nations of the world have had sufficient time to experience the misery which has come to crown the era of our present civilization. More than that they have concluded that the way out of this misery cannot be achieved by waiting for things to adjust themselves and by eating the airy platitudes of those hundreds of so-called leaders who have been busy assuring us that the bottom has been reached and that prosperity and justice and charity are waiting 'just around the corner'.

I remember that on March 7th. 1930, more than one year and a half ago, the former Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, announced: *"All evidences indicate that the worst effect of the crash of unemployment will have passed within the next sixty days."* That was in the spring of 1930. I recollect that he and hundreds of others to whom ten thousand facts were well known were busy preaching to us that prosperity was just around the corner. It appears to have been a circular corner to which they referred; a corner which if we could turn we would not be willing to negotiate if it foreshadows a repetition of these recent occurrences for the children of the generations to come.

During this same period of time experience and necessity have combined to teach us that the first law of economics and the first duty of government is to stand fast by the principle laid down by Almighty God; that livelihood and the things which appertain to it, health, happiness, prosperity, can be gained only by following the law of labor. You cannot eat bread unless you work. You cannot have shelter unless you secure it by the sweat of your brow. *"By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy bread."* No generation has had this truth burned upon their consciences so deeply as has ours, because we have discovered that men are not constituted in society to live either by doles or by the wealth hoarded in the hands of a few.

During this same period of time the peoples of every civilized nation have grown heart weary at the efforts of international bankers to perpetuate their gambling and their gold seeking at the expense of a torture more refined than was ever excogitated by the trickery of the Romans or the heartlessness of slave owners.

And what was done to alleviate this misery? What was done to re-establish this fundamental law of life by which every human being who wants to work may be given an opportunity to work?

Just about one year ago our Chief Executive declared: *"As a nation we must prevent hunger and cold to those of our people who are in honest difficulty."*

Immediately he organized federal activities for unemployment with Colonel Arthur Woods as his generalissimo. Something must be done to lead back to work the six million unemployed who are walking our streets. The President promised: *"That there would be development of methods with the national industries."* The industrialists in turn promised that they would refrain from wage cutting.

Well, after one year has elapsed wages have been cut almost universally with only a few outstanding exceptions, and the best efforts of Colonel Woods have been of little or no avail—all of this simply because an heroic effort has been made to place the cart before the horse. It was an effort to protect gold instead of the labor which produces gold. It was an effort made on the part of the international bankers to continue their questionable policies which grew out of the unjust Treaty of Versailles. It was an effort which culminated in the destruction of credit and in the hoarding of four-fifths of the world's liquid money in the hands of the two modern Shylocks, the United States bankers and the Bank of France.

Despite all this I sincerely feel that this generation of Americans, of British citizens and cultured Europeans will continue to exercise that same most magnanimous patience which has characterized these last few years just so long as an honest effort is being made to restore all things in Christ; just so long as that same honest effort will be made in casting aside the principles and policies and short-sighted diplomacy which have generated our present affairs.

They will not be patient nor will they be satisfied with a patch work reconstruction which ventures only part way and which refuses to take into account the fundamental law of economic life expressed in the words: "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy bread."

What Must Be Done?

The old cry of "God give us bread" has been changed in one sense in our day to "God give us work."

Changed, said I? Most certainly. Cargoes of bananas are dumped into the Atlantic Ocean because the market is overstocked with them. Wheat fields are reduced to ashes because it does not pay to harvest them. Calves and sheep are slaughtered in the pastures because there is no gain in fattening them. Potatoes sell at fifteen cents a bushel in Michigan—hardly worth the effort to dig them. Fruit is given away for the picking of it in our orchards. Cotton is rotting in the store houses of Louisiana!

In the midst of this entire depression Almighty God, as it were, has spoken to us and said: "You have tried to get along without Me during your proud period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' capitalism. The lessons learned from the World War have been of no avail. The burlesquerie enacted by the Treaty of Versailles has failed to teach you and the comedy of your League of Nations which during its short expanse of existence has witnessed more wars, more upheavals and more international strife than ever before in the history of the world is still unadmitted by you.

"You have rejected My principles of justice and generosity and charity. In turn I will send you a super-abundance of all things material. I will load your banks with gold. I will store your granaries with wheat. I will bless every endeavor put forth by the farmer. But in the midst of it all you are helpless because you still prefer your man made principles of legalized injustice and organized greed. Without Me you can do nothing."

My friends, in nowise are these days of pessimism. At least we have learned to face facts which is a considerable progress.

Our lamp of hope has not been shattered. When the midnight of darkness comes upon us, it is then that we see more clearly the pale flickering of its tiny flame. The world speaks of the re-establishment of credit. Our own Chief Executive has done well in his promotion of it.

After all this thing called credit is more closely related to the virtue called charity than one would suspect. Slowly but surely are we determined to pursue that thin candle light of hope from this humble beginning until the full glow of the glorious morn will arrive; until hope will have matured unto its realization; until the candle flame will have burst into a sunrise!

Therefore, with honest expectancy we look forward to that happy day when the abuses which have grown around our system of capitalism will be eliminated.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few will no longer be tolerable. A system which produces chronic idleness for millions of our fellow citizens must be corrected. An industrial policy which does not provide for a yearly wage and for an opportunity for every willing worker to labor must be abolished. And a financial theory which does not guarantee to a depositor in a bank that he can get his money out of it as easily as he put it into it must be classified with nothing less than high brow racketeering.

International diplomacy which is builded only on the foundation of fostering international investments, caring little about the sacredness of human life and the pursuits of common happiness, must be retired. The definition of capital in terms only of gold or of silver must be rewritten until it embraces homes and farm lands and cherished possessions which are more sacred than pound sterling or metal coin.

A system of taxation which so penalizes an agriculturist or a city laborer to the extent that it is far cheaper to rent rather than to own must be remodeled. A philosophy of industrialism which looks askance upon the organization of the laborer into peaceful unions or Christian societies must be scuttled. Despotic domination over the necessities of life; unbridled competition amongst mass productionists; the fierce battle to acquire control of the State on the part of the money lords; the sophistry often choked down our throats that State ownership of public utilities is necessarily extreme socialism; the contention that the head of a State or a Government must hold his office to protect the factions of financial greed and industrial passion who elected him, caring little for the common good; in a word, man's inhumanity to man and man's effort to get along without God and His principles must be eliminated from the sphere of the civilized world.

These are the immoral elements which must be cleansed from the Augean stables of our national life even before we care to turn the corner of prosperity. Temporizers may induce a sort of new prosperity with their hypodermic needle similar to the policy of a physician who feeds the dope fiend cocaine. But today we are bent upon removing the causes which will permanently remove the renewal of these sordid effects.

Confidence

The above seems to be nothing more than an assemblage of poetic ideals which can never be realized. They are ideals today. Tomorrow they will be realizations. Yesterday we found ourselves playing the ostrich and burying our heads in the sands of leaderless inaction. Today we have glimpsed the truth in the dim light of hope's candle. Tomorrow our children shall walk in its sun-clear light.

Every ideal which I have suggested in the above paragraphs; every principle intimated comes not as you might think from socialist or communist text book, nor are they excerpts borrowed from my own thought. Rather they come from the courageous mind of Pius XI who has gone on record as saying in his latest Encyclical, "Quadragesimo anno": "*For unless serious attempts be made with all energy and without delay to put them into practice let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquility of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution.*"

Before any progress can be made in this period of reconstruction first it is required that confidence be restored in the minds of the people and secondly that a change of attitude on the part of the rich towards the poor be evidenced. Let me be quick to explain that this change of attitude to which I refer has little or nothing to do with the private lives of the rich because they have been generous on most occasions. It is the change of attitude in their public lives, in their commercial dealings, in their financial and industrial philosophy to which I refer.

Governments exist of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is the Catholic doctrine that a government should legislate for the common good of the majority, without legislating any injustice for the weaker minority.

Approximately ninety-six per cent of the population of our nation belongs to that class of citizenry who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow; who work in mines and fields and factories; who ply their trades for a weekly wage.

This is the ninety-six per cent who have lost confidence in their leaders because of unfulfilled prophecies, which were based on godless optimism; the ninety-six per cent who for the most part saw their small savings evaporate in the thousands of local banks which have failed during the last two years while they witnessed the horrible spectacle of $850,000,000 being transported from this nation to save the tottering bank of England. Millions for England and not a penny for home! This is the ninety-six per cent who are still burdened with 1929 tax rates in 1931 while their little holdings of farms or homes have depreciated from fifty to eighty per cent in value. This is the ninety-six per cent who number in their midst the eight million unemployed men and their millions of dependent children and wives.

To restore confidence within their hearts, however, were not such a difficult matter as one might suspect.

Did not such a leader as Gerard Swope recently enunciate the principle, *"Fear must be removed in the minds of the working class. And this cannot be done unless they have reasonable expectation of protection for their families in case of the bread winner's death, protection for their old age, and protection against unemployment"?* Did not a great corporation like the General Electric Company of America, with which the same Mr. Swope is identified, guarantee at least six months' wages for everyone of its employes? That removes fear and creates confidence. If the General Electric Corporation can adopt such policies then let every other corporation follow suit or get out of business.

Only when such legislation is passed will confidence be restored in a Congress that has been elected to care for the needs of the ninety-six per cent.

And these same fellow citizens of ours wonder why it is that a bank failure in Canada is almost unheard of; that a bank failure in England is an incredible thing. Confidence in their own financial system may only partially be restored by a $500,000,000 pool, but it can never be restored until legislation prevents our banking institutes becoming houses of speculation instead of institutions for safe investment. In one word deposits in banks must be guaranteed by the government, before any financial confidence can be restored.

If it is the business of a government to maintain bank examiners, let it be the business of the government to restrain banks from jeopardizing their depositors' money.

These are only two simple suggestions founded on justice which would do more to restore the confidence of the people in a government and in the financial institutions which operate by charter under it than all the quarts of optimistic ink spilled upon the financial pages of the nations.

A Common Sense View

To dwell for a moment upon the change of attitude of the rich towards the poor may I quote from Robert Quillen who writes as follows: *"Imagine, if you will a little company of people cast away on an island in the sea.*

"There is sufficient clothing for all, and food and shelter in abundance.

"The people are not safe, however, for the island that offered them refuge is slowly sinking. They can measure the encroachment of the water and predict the end almost to a day.

"There is no possibility of escape. It is but a question of time until all alike should be engulfed in the sea.

"Now imagine that a few men of that strange company be stronger and more greedy than the others. They seize the springs of water and the trees that supply food and say to the others: 'A few of you may earn your keep by guarding our properties and serving us in various ways. But the others shall have neither food nor shelter except by offering their clothing in exchange.'

"Would you call these strong ones wise?

"Why should they wish to own the springs and the trees and collect piles of clothing when they are so soon to be drowned with the others? If they were wise and compassionate men, they would make use of their superior strength to insure a fair division of the necessities and to encourage and strengthen the weak.

"You know they would: For groups of people have faced disaster much like this imaginary one, and in each instance the strong have been unselfish and gallant.

"Why is it, then, that men cannot or will not conduct themselves with equal sympathy and decency in this fatal adventure called social life?"

There is no escape for any of us. Death waits with his lean, uplifted forefinger beckoning you and me and our loved ones to follow whither our ancestors have recently gone.

Suddenly as Dwight Morrow passed away. Silently as Edison passed away. Death takes no holiday. All must die soon, and none can take treasure or property with him.

Why are not men wise enough to see the truth, to regard their fellowmen as comrades in disaster, and to use their talents unselfishly to serve and protect their weaker brothers until the inevitable end comes to all?

Only Christian faith can make us see the truth. Only Christian charity can take away man's childish selfishness and teach him to live in the brotherhood of Him Who spoke from the cross: *"Son behold thy mother; mother behold thy son."*

Why then do we twist and turn our man made philosophy that private ownership bestows upon its possessor the right to unlimited use? Oh, how tenaciously the rich will cling to the Seventh Commandment of God which says: *"Thou shalt not* *steal!"* But oh, how quickly it lets fall from its selfish grasp the Gospel of Christ which teaches us to love our brother as we love ourselves!

Private ownership? Yes; the Catholic Church will stand by it and die for it if necessary. But it will likewise proclaim that there is a limitation upon the use of hoarded wealth.

It is this I mean when I say that we must change our mental attitude towards our fellowman. We who are strong must not use our strength to overcome the weak. We who are rich must not use our wealth to perpetuate poverty. We who are Christian, be we bishop, priest or layman, must rekindle within the hearts of a forgetful world the doctrine of a God Who was crucified and in Whose sacred heart's blood we have all been baptized in His immortal brotherhood. He possessed the private ownership of His Own life. But surrendered it on the cross for us to use.

These, my friends, are the Christian hopes which today burn dimly but steadfastly within the human heart. The curtain has rung down upon the past with its organized poverty and its organized greed.

As miners lost in the depths of the earth, our exit appears to have been cut off by some vast explosion which has shattered the policies and the principles of yesteryear. One by one like mighty rocks they come tumbling down the tunnels of the nations. The air conduits and mechanism of faith have been shattered. The noxious gases of discontent and revolution are slowly arising. In fear and trembling the thousand prisoners trapped in the mine climb to some ledge to escape the onrush of water. Communication with the outside world of happiness is almost destroyed. But unexpectedly a lamp is lighted; a voice is heard. It is the lamp of Christian faith. It is the voice of Jesus Christ Who calls to us: "Come follow Me—follow Me to safety, to life, to love and to happiness."

"On Prohibition"

PROLOGUE

A RATHER unpleasant situation has arisen during this past week. Because it obtained national publicity in every news journal, it became somewhat aggravated, and I might say, aggravating.

More than that, in our own City of Detroit, fuel was added to the fire by the presence of a certain Colonel Callahan who came here under the auspices of a Christian Church to advocate the merits and questionable virtues of prohibition along the same line of thought advanced by Bishop J. Cannon, Jr.

Colonel Callahan is a Roman Catholic, highly honored by the Church of which he is a member. But in nowise does he represent the Catholic lay population of the United States of America, nor are his views upon the subject of prohibition to be taken with any authority whatsoever.

The Colonel is a rather pernicious type of prohibition nuisance. He is the Secretary of the Association of Catholics Favoring Prohibition and also Chairman of the Allied Prohibition Board of Strategy. This organization in the year 1926, according to testimony given before the Senate Judiciary Committee, numbered three hundred twenty members. Remembering that there are some twenty odd million Catholics in the United States; remembering that no Catholic Bishop has extended the responsibility to this Kentucky Colonel of speaking authoritatively on the subject of prohibition, his views are to be accepted in the proportion of twenty million against three hundred twenty.

This afternoon, with the approbation of my own Right Reverend Bishop, may I devote the few minutes at my disposal to a discussion of prohibition from a Christian standpoint.

The Question

First of all, Bishop James Cannon, Jr., has been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for corrupt practices.

On the occasion of his being indicted he gave national pronouncement to the fact that he was a victim of Roman Catholic propaganda. Mention was even made that the United States District Attorney, Mr. Rover, a Catholic, who acted with the Grand Jury was partially responsible for his predicament.

As a matter of truthfulness and honesty, here are the facts: Just such a charge as cited above was anticipated to come from the Anti-Saloon League and from those associated with it. Thus, not Mr. Rover, but the Assistant District Attorney, John J. Wilson, who is both a Republican and a Protestant, presided over the indictment proceedings. More than that a Grand Jury composed mostly of Protestants did the actual indicting, and this on ten counts.

Decent citizens are just about surfeited by such lying implications as nationally reported and nowhere denied. We are determined that this wet and dry issue of the present day shall not be entangled in the meshes of bigotry. Of the Right Reverend Bishop Cannon, we cannot and dare not make a martyr. He has made a martyr of himself years ago.

To raise the religious question is futile for Bishop Cannon at this juncture. To quote from the editorial page of the Belleville *Daily News-Democrat* which was printed on the twentieth day of this month, we find this statement: *"Among the most tenacious pursuers who sought to force him into the open are Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts, an Episcopalian; Senator Glass of Virginia, and former Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, the two latter gentlemen being of the Bishop's own communion in the Methodist Church South."*

Thus, before the stench of religious hatred is let loose either from pulpit or press, may I bring for your consideration the following facts which represent more or less the Catholic attitude towards prohibition.

There are three words commonly used when discussing this vexed question. They are the words "prohibition", "temperance" and "abstinence". The word *abstinence* means the total abstaining from alcoholic beverages through the free will of the individual. The word *temperance* signifies the moderate use of alcoholic beverages at the discretion of the individual. While the word *prohibition* signifies the total abstinence from alcoholic beverages through the force of an outside party and not through the free will of an individual.

To the first two actions the merit arising from free will is to be considered. But there is no merit whatsoever in abstaining through prohibition.

We are here dealing with this forced abstinence, or prohibition.

The Catholic Church abhors drunkenness. The Catholic Church at the Council of Baltimore in the days of Cardinal Gibbons went so far as to advocate that Catholics in good standing should not operate saloons. More than that the Catholic Church erected societies both for priests and laymen throughout the entire nation advocating voluntary abstinence.

But in regards to prohibition may I quote for you a statement from His Eminence, the late Cardinal Gibbons, who was a thorough representative of Catholic thought. He says: "*The establishment of prohibition in Chicago or other large cities would be impractical and would put a premium on the sale of intoxicating drinks. When a law is flagrantly and habitually violated it brings legislation into contempt. It creates a spirit of deception and hypocrisy, and compels men to do insidiously and by stealth what they would otherwise do openly and above board. You cannot legislate men by civil action into the performance of good and righteous deeds.*"

The prophecy was enunciated a quarter of a century before the advent of the "noble experiment."

Now, both Catholics and Protestants and even non-religionists for the most part, regard the Bible as the Word of God.

There is not one solitary instance in the Bible where either prohibition as defined or the policies of prohibition are advocated. Total abstinence is advocated. Temperance is always advocated. But forced prohibition cannot be substantiated by a religion that is identified with the Bible.

I make this statement fully aware of the ancient byword that "the devil can quote Scripture for his purpose." I make it with the full expectancy of being bombarded by letters this coming week—each letter referring to a Scriptural text; each Scriptural text bent upon a mission of nullifying the statement just made. I trust the favorable letters will at least uphold the balance.

But I am standing prepared to repeat and to defend the assertion that nowhere in Scripture can prohibition and its policies find defense. . . . It is not Christian. They who would try to make it so are either deceived or deceivers.

Thus, it is my purpose to show that the prohibitionists derive their doctrine not from Christ but from those opposed to Christ.

That is the question and the point at issue during this discourse.

The Bible Not For Prohibition

A moment ago I referred to the Bible.

I invite both Protestant and even Catholic to turn to the King James Version by which the proponents of prohibition clumsily bolster up their religious arguments. Open the Bible at the Gospel of Jesus Christ according to St. Matthew, Chapter eleven, verses seventeen, eighteen and nineteen. There we read that "*John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say: 'Behold a Man gluttonous and a wine bibber'* ".

Or again turn in the same Bible to the Gospel of Christ according to St. Luke, chapter seven, verses thirty-three and thirty-four, and you have practically the identical words above quoted. Jesus Christ is accused of drinking wine. He is accused of drinking it in excess. He is accused of being a wine bibber. This is what the Good Soldier, Jesus Christ, Himself says about the accusations made about Him by the Clarence True Wilsons of nineteen hundred years ago, simply because He drank wine temperately.

As a matter of truth Jesus Christ was a wine drinker. As a matter of truth at Cana of Galilee He changed water into wine. This was the first of His miracles; a miracle performed only after the men had well imbibed of all the wine at the banquet. In fact the steward of the feast, as your Bible tells you, went on to remark: "*Every man at first setteth forth good wine, and* *when men have well drunk then that which is worse. But Thou has kept the good wine until now."*

In other words the steward could have said: "The best wine is served to men at the outset of a banquet. But after they are somewhat joyous and in their cups because of the effects of the good wine then there is served an inferior grade."

Or turn to the story of the Last Supper. Here we behold Christ taking into His hands a chalice of wine and pronouncing over it the words: *"This is the blood of the New and Eternal Testament."* In the face of these facts, who dare impute to Christ the preaching or the practising of total abstinence by necessity of law? Christ stood for temperance.

True enough, John the Baptist did practice total abstinence through his own free will. But Christ, envisioning the men and women of every age, of every nation, of every walk in life, chose to set an example which all could follow. He chose to drink wine in the house of Nicodemus. He went on record of performing His first miracle to produce wine at Cana of Galilee. And at the tragic hour when the nails of the cross over-shadowed Him, it was wine which He chose when He established the highest and the greatest of the sacraments.

Christ's example is good enough for me and for every other Christian. He does not force the example followed by John the Baptist on any of us. He is not a prohibitionist. Behold our Christ! If He were living today He would not be called a friend of publicans and sinners as you read in Matthew eleven and Luke seven. The proponents of prohibition would call Him in modern parlance a friend of the speak-easies and an associate of the bootleggers!

The bride's home at Cana would be termed a blind pig, although in this house and because of this miracle, the Scriptures tell us: *"His disciples began to believe in Him."* In other words, the first inklings of Christian faith that came into the world were associated with the wine which Wayne Wheeler and his confederates have condemned.

If Jesus Christ today should appear at a public marriage and turn water into wine as He did nineteen hundred years ago what would happen? He would be seized on the one arm by Bishop James Cannon, Jr., now under indictment for violation of the corrupt practices act, and on the other by the voluble and intolerant Clarence True Wilson; thrown into jail with murderers and criminals because of an act of Congress which violates the principles of the Christian religion, scorns the teachings of God and Jesus Christ, and sneers at the traditions of our republic.

It was an act of Congress passed only after the majority of the people of the United States had been deceived by thousands upon thousands of preachers who forced down the throats of an innocent people a vinegar of deception, imposing upon them the great untruth that prohibition was of Christ and for Christ and by Christ; telling them that without prohibition, there was no salvation!

It might be a constitutional question whether or not such a law conceived in the lust of lying and nurtured at the breast of bigotry has any valid binding force upon the conscience of the awakened and outraged American people.

The Anti-Christian Origin of Prohibition

For a moment let us become historical and find out just where this doctrine of prohibition had its origin.

Briefly, it is traceable to the third century of Christianity. It is identified with a Persian philosopher by the name of Manes. This dreamer believed that he was appointed by Almighty God to become the moral leader of the world. He regarded all things material as essentially bad. He specifically condemned wine and women. I suppose the poor fellow did not know how to sing and consequently left song out of his litany of condemnation.

By the way, St. Augustine says of this would-be philosopher, Manes, and his followers, that "despite the boast of their lips, their hearts were void of truth." A criticism that might be applied to those who have followed in his footsteps; to those like him, who applaud themselves as the moral leaders of America.

However, we are still back in the third century of Christianity. The authorities of the Church meet in solemn council to deal with this man who preached that wine is essentially evil. Their answer to him is to legislate that everybody receiving the Blessed Sacrament or Holy Communion, as many call it, must receive it under the form both of bread and of wine so to disprove the sophistry of this father of prohibition.

Here, then, is the beginning of the American prohibition question. But the modern followers of Manes are somewhat lax. If they strictly adhered to this anti-Christian of the third century, they would set about unsexing every woman in the land as well as prohibiting wine.

The next step in the history of prohibition is identified with the year 620 A. D. and with the great prophet, Mohammed. This Mohammed adopted the Manichæian principles. He condemned wine as essentially evil. He legislated that women were nothing more than toys for men. He incorporated these doctrines in his Koran, or Mohammedan bible. Then abandoning all laws of God, disregarding truth and life he enforced this unchristian belief regarding the evil of wine and women with a bloody simitar.

The above facts are cited to clarify the question: "Where did prohibitionists derive their doctrine?" The answer is, "not from Christ." "Not from the Bible." But from the man condemned by the authorities of the early Church, Manes, by name, and from his able follower, Mohammed of the bloody sword.

Regarding these facts, although I respect your opinions and your convictions, I defy you, if you are lovers of truth and of history, to disprove them. Facts and not vituperation; truth and not bigotry! Let these be our guiding star in this discussion.

Thus, if anyone of our modern prohibition preachers were logical and lovers of history, they ought to wear a Turkish fez instead of a clerical collar.

Bear in mind, my friends, I am speaking of this thing called prohibition thus far only insomuch as it lacks the Christian religious background; only insomuch as it is not a tenet of Christianity.

But if for reasons politic we care to adopt it, we are free to become either Mohammedans in our culture or anything else we please.

I might pause to ask the question: "What good did prohibition accomplish for the followers of Manes and Mohammed who aspired to change our mundane sphere into a garden of paradise?" The record of history is open for all to read. Asia and Northern Africa, which were their strongholds, are today the shining example of their barbarism. Before prohibition, they boasted of such great geniuses as Augustine, Cyprian, Cyril, the three Gregories, Basil, Chrysostom, Athanasius and many others whose contributions have benefited civilization. Today they boast of illiterates.

Before prohibition, Asia and Northern Africa were the leaders in arts and science and culture. Since prohibition these countries have been barren. Today it is dangerous to travel through this territory which has become infested with bandits and racketeers and paupers.

For thirteen hundred and ten years prohibition was enforced in these Turkish domains. Under Kemal Pasha of our own day it has been abolished as one of their great experimental mistakes.

Even the Turks have more wisdom than have we.

But after thirteen hundred more years of noble experiment, we, too, may learn.

If I were attempting to show how un-Christian and also how un-American this whole prohibition movement is, it were possible to assemble such names as Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson—the greatest Presidents which this country has produced. Without one exception they were men given to moderate drinking. Any school boy privileged to read a history unexpurgated by the hands of fanatics is aware of this.

But I prefer to mention the eminent name of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. He who enjoyed his frequent wine would turn over in his grave could he hear how his disloyal offspring have enshrined him among the law breakers and morons of civilization.

Thus, with respect for neither Christ nor the Apostles; with suggestive criticism of the founder and saviour of our country; with insinuated condemnation of him whose spirit is supposed to be the guiding star of their church, the Wheelers, the Clarence True Wilsons, the Holsaples, and the rest of their ilk will rise up in indignation if anyone dare impute their veracity in refusing to let Christ and the Bible be the foundation of their modern Mohammedan practices.

They are the modern pharisees whose progenitors defamed Christ as being disloyal to His country and a wine bibber. Christ's followers can expect no better appellation from their intolerant mouths. The charge recently advanced by Bishop Cannon, Jr., was the expected thing.

Nevertheless, we are in mighty good company when we are condemned and not praised by them; when we are with Christ and not with Mohammed.

When these pharisees abuse the American Legion with vile epithets; when they sling the mud of their slurs down the pages of history on the immortal names of Washington and Lincoln and their own Wesley, they are merely abusing the cultured people of the world.

The present day English, Canadians and Europeans; the geniuses of the middle ages who have bejewelled our world with priceless art treasures are in the same category with Jesus Christ in that they are nothing but wine bibbers.

My Catholic and Protestant friends, open your Bibles! And if you have leisure, go to the library and secure a copy of the Koran, Mohammed's bible. Read them.

They who recently have preached the doctrine of prohibition with the modern simitar of bigotry have stolen their ammunition from Mohammed, and have thrown overboard the teachings of the Bible which is supposed to be their sole rule of faith. Thanks be to God, I defy them either in public or in private to substantiate their Mohammedan prohibition by the authority of the Bible which we all love so extremely and which we will defend forever.

Some Explanations

Someone is liable to entertain the unscientific thought that in biblical days there was no such thing as fermented wine.

May I remind you that Louis Pasteur had not yet invented his system of preventing fermentation. Mr. Welch of grape juice fame had not yet come upon the scene to perfect Pasteur's method.

In the Holy Land baked by the hot sun refrigeration was practically unknown. Nothing else but fermented wine was used.

To substantiate that statement may I refer you to an incident in the New Testament.

It is related that Christ advised against putting new wine in old bottles because, due to fermentation, the new wine would burst the old skins which already had been stretched to their extremity. By the way, for bottles they used skins.

While referring to biblical passages, the thought comes to me that someone will interpose the text quoted by Bethsebe of Old Testament fame. She said: *"Give not wine to princes.*' And to be assured that in the Old Testament wine was not prohibited, open your Bibles and read this passage of Bethsebe in full. In this same context she says: *"Give strong drink to those who are sorrowing and wine to those who are sad, that they may forget their troubles and remember their sorrows no more."*

Oh, I fear that Welch's grape juice could never produce this effect!

And I also fear that those who wish to quote the Bible at me in defense of prohibition, not temperance, mind you, will not be able to find a solitary text that will make a criminal out of Christ who changed water into wine at Cana and who used wine at the Last Supper.

And even Colonel Callahan with his three hundred twenty followers will have difficulty in destroying the pages of history to substantiate his statement that *"we are initiating a great welfare measure for mankind and civilization."* The Colonel had better take a course in Oriental History, and realize that Manes and Mohammed beat him to it by a few hundred years.

While I am on this subject a second thought occurs to me which is associated with a New Testament quotation often trumped up by the adherents of prohibition. It is this: *"If thy brother offend thee in meat or in drink it is better to abstain."* Bear in mind two items of sustenance are mentioned—meat and drink.

There is no difficulty in expounding this Scriptural passage, however.

Please remember that St. Paul was writing to people who were newly converted from Roman paganism; who were in a quandary whether or not they should drink the wine which had been offered to the god Bacchus or the meat which had been offered to the goddess Ceres.

It was a perplexed question with them whether or not they would be committing an act against their faith to consume either the meat or the wine which through an act of religion had been associated with these pagan deities.

And St. Paul answering their question told them to abstain both from this certain meat and from this certain drink for fear that their ill-instructed brethren should be tempted to regard them as having denied their religion.

Even common sense can show you the merit of this apostolic advice. But if those who quote that section of the New Testament to uphold prohibition had common sense they would also prohibit the use of meat and make vegetarians out of the American people!

The foregoing has been spoken simply to disprove the gratuitous statement that prohibition is founded upon Christian principles and Christian policies as expounded in the Bible. Temperance is the virtue preached and practiced by Jesus Christ. Truly, the Bible condemns the abuse of drinking. But it does not force upon us to abstain from alcoholic beverages. Christ, not wishing to be an extremist and a fanatic, lighted the lamp of example for everyone of his disciples to follow.

Temperance permits the use of any of God's creatures. The prohibitionist runs to one extreme and the drunkard to the other. St. Paul's admonition and advice still holds good today that:

"*A little wine is good for the stomach.*" And St. Paul does not contradict himself because his writings are the inspired words of the Holy Ghost.

In all, there are approximately three hundred references to wine and to wine drinking contained within the Bible. But, if what is advertised is true that the prohibitionists are about to rewrite the Bible and eliminate every reference to wine and to drinking, soon we will be in possession of a bob-tailed New Testament edited not by the Fathers of the Church but by the lineal descendants of Mohammed.

It is not pleasant to state these things. But in the abhorrence of intolerance and studied deception; in the defence of truth; and of the preachments of Jesus Christ it is indecent to use the Scriptures as a peg upon which to hang this modern cloak of hypocrisy.

About a year ago I had occasion to speak on this same subject. At that time I referred to prohibition as a smoke screen which was employed to hide the real question of the day. What engrosses the minds of the American people today is not what they shall drink but where they can eat.

The millions of dollars invested by the hoarders of wealth to agitate the people of America, to blind them to the economic misery of our present generation and to perpetuate a law that "is more honored in the breach than in its observance" has succeeded most admirably in helping to remove both food and drink from the American working man.

Why, we have one mass productionist here in Michigan, a great moral supporter of prohibition, who has gone so far as to threaten that he would not build his automobiles in a place that was given over to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

Nevertheless, I believe that he operates his mass productionism in Canada, in England, in France, in Germany, in Italy, and in Ireland from which last place he imports tractors into America duty free!

Oh, what a jewel is this thing called consistency!

The Laws of God Disregarded

Meanwhile, America has prospered under its noble experiment of aping Mohammedanism. Although the late President Wilson vetoed the legislation associated with the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act, our Congress passed it over his head, merely as a war measure.

Almost immediately the Anti-Saloon League set itself up as the apostolic delegate of Almighty God and as the dictator of the people's government. Let us turn to the records of the Anti-Saloon League itself for the proof of this amazing statement.

On November 2, 1925, the Anti-Saloon League canonized its founder, Mr. Howard Hyde Russell. In the resolution of canonization which is spread upon the records of the League, we find this passage: *"The leader in the divine plan to unite the churches of America in the Anti-Saloon League for the destruction of the violation of the liquor traffic was Howard Hyde Russell. To him, under God, is traceable the conception and execution of that plan."* So Mr. Russell and Almighty God formulated prohibition!

Again I quote from Francis Scott McBride, General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League: *"The Anti-Saloon League was born of God."* Evidently Mr. McBride has failed to read up on Manes and Mohammed.

Well, nevertheless, having fully established itself as a divine institution acting under divine guidance, this little band of intolerant bigots proceeded to seize the power of government at Washington and set itself up as the supreme dictator over the liberties and the principles of the American people. Like Mohammed, they throw aside God's law; scorn the sacredness of life, of truth, and of liberty as they wield the simitar of fanaticism.

I quote from the opening paragraph of the biography of Wayne B. Wheeler written by his publicity secretary, Justin Steuart. The passage reads: *"Wayne B. Wheeler controlled six Congresses; dictated to two Presidents of the United States; directed legislation in most of the States of the Union; picked* *the candidates for the more important elective State and Federal offices; held the balance of power in both the Republican and Democratic parties; distributed more patronage than any other dozen men; supervised a federal bureau from outside without official authority; and was recognized by friend and foe as the most masterful and powerful single individual in the United States."*

Thus, we see by the record of the Anti-Saloon League that it considered itself as born of God and as the Government of the United States. Its records further show that it seized control of the Federal Prohibition Enforcement Department. It often did control the appointment of federal judges before whom citizens accused of violating the prohibition act are to be tried. Not satisfied with controlling the prohibition agents, it also sought to control the appointment of the federal district attorneys who had charge of the prosecution of violators of the Prohibition Act. These are facts taken from the records of the Anti-Saloon League which are open for all to read. It is the Government at Washington, the boss of Congress and the dictator to the President. It is judge. It is jury. It holds the liberties of the people in the hollow of its hand. It has crowded our jails and penitentiaries to the door with the victims of intolerance, after having promised to empty our jails. Its agents upon the highways have shot innocent citizens in the back, and Congress has cheered the slaughter of Americans!

God's immortal laws are thrown into the discard to preserve this revival of antiquated Mohammedanism. Yet we are told, it is of God; it is of Christ!

It has put the law of man above this law of God. It has put its own law above the law of the country in that it actually operates blind pigs to catch the unwary.

All other laws must bow in subservience before the National Prohibition Act. Murder, rape and theft are merely venial sins compared to the heinous, mortal crime of manufacturing, transporting and selling a glass of beer!

On the front page of the Detroit *Free Press*, Tuesday, October 6th, to give you an example of what I mean by the above, we read the following:

"Douglas McPherson, 30-year-old former manager of the First National Bank branch at Grand River Avenue and West Grand Boulevard, was sentenced Monday TO SERVE TWO YEARS IN LEAVENWORTH PENITENTIARY by Judge Charles C. Simons in Federal Court for stealing $40,928. McPherson pleaded guilty Friday.

"McPherson surrendered voluntarily after spending his share of the money which was taken August 30th, 1930.

" 'Your case is one of the most difficult kind for a judge,' said Judge Simons. 'You are not really a criminal and I am certain that you would not err again if released. But other young men who might be tempted to steal if you were released must be thought of in passing sentence in this case.' "

Here we find a federal judge sympathizing with a criminal, telling him that he is not really a criminal, although he was caught stealing $40,000. Two years in jail at $20,000 a year! What one of the six million starving men upon our streets today would not be willing to spend a year in jail for the theft of $20,000?

But in this same federal courthouse, it has been known where even life was given for selling a bottle of whiskey. Life for a pint. But your thieving bank managers are almost applauded.

And this is the smoke screen which has blinded the American people. The real criminals are condoned. Instead of our promised prosperity we have the most damnable poverty. Give us time, and by following those principles of Mohammed, we will soon graduate into an era of brigandage, of racketeering and of barbarism.

National Law Spurned

More than that because it is ungodly and unchristian, prohibition is tearing down respect for our Government and making a hypocrite of the Government itself.

The Federal Government itself, although brow beaten by this Anti-Saloon League, found occasion to enter on a bootlegging enterprise compared to which Al Capone is a foundling babe. The United States Shipping Board, a federal government subsidy was operating a large fleet of ships on the high seas. It was losing something like $150,000,000 a year. In order to save $100,000,000 a year of these losses the Shipping Board ordered that every passenger steamship flying an American flag as an emblem of government should be stocked with fine liquors. The laudable purpose was to attract passenger traffic to those government owned ships. Some of these ships had as many as five federally owned and operated saloons on board.

Uncle Sam was setting a terrific pace for the other bootleggers to match. But the practice was eventually exposed—not by the Anti-Saloon League, however nor by any prohibition or public official.

The result was that the Supreme Court of the United States held that its own federal government in transporting liquor into and possessing liquor within the territorial waters of the United States was violating both the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act. I wonder why the federal government does not bring case against itself to collect back taxes!

On land the slogan was "life for a pint." But on the high seas the Government was reaping the profits both directly and indirectly from the greatest bootlegging enterprise ever uncovered.

Oh what a fine example this government, under the direction of the Anti-Saloon League, was setting to the young Al Capones who had the ambition of joining Uncle Sam in his racket. Is this consonant with Christianity?

The Wayne Wheelers, the Bishop Cannons, the Clarence True Wilsons, the Holsaples, were higher and greater than Lincoln, who issued the solemn warning against amending the Constitution for trifling purposes. They appeared to be wiser than Washington, Madison, Hamilton and Franklin, who participated in writing the great charter of American liberty even while fully aware of Mohammedan debasement.

Time does not permit my entering into the reeking depths of this subject any further.

But in the name of truth, of honesty and of Christ's Christianity, it is only fair to protest against one who would raise high the red flag of Mohammedan bigotry. It is only just to dare the proponents of prohibition to substantiate their claims that if the Bible is the sole rule of faith then prohibition is founded upon it. They are unable to do this.

We Americans in our generation have once passed through the hell gates of bigotry. When its unchristian lies were spewed upon the nation from pulpit and from press, we were unwisely silent. This time, however, we are prepared to meet their assertions with facts and their insinuations with truth.

Keep the prohibition law on our statute books and in our Constitution if we will. But it is time to rid ourselves of the shackles of ignorance which proclaim that the thing called prohibition is Christian or of God!

The Great Sin

The Question

THE great mortal sin in the United States of America is, having met facts, to refuse to face them. On the other hand the virtue of paramount importance is perseverance in one's prejudices.

On a question of drunkenness both the prohibitionist and the anti-prohibitionist are totally agreed. On the question of crime they are also both agreed. But on the method of curtailing both crime and drunkenness, there is a wide divergence of policy.

The prohibitionist mistaking in his zeal the cause of drunkenness employs the law of the land to eliminate the manufacture, the transporting and the sale of alcoholic beverages. The anti-prohibitionist maintaining that this method is inefficient, prefers to rectify the human heart. The former will legislate man into heaven. The latter, although He could summon legions of angels with simitars in their hands will hold that heaven is to be gained by the free will of the pilgrim. The prohibitionist turns to Christ and to the Old and New Testament in search of fundamental principles upon which he can erect the structure of his method. But in vain he turns when confronted with the history of Christ, the story of both Matthew "eleven" and Luke "seven;" when reminded of the Last Supper, of the marriage feast at Cana and of hundreds ot other passages. More than that, he is astonished to learn that his method is one not born of Christ but born of those opposed to Christ. Of this fact no one can make denial. Up to this present moment no one has even attempted to refute the story of Manes and the history of Mohammed!

My friends, the question does not hinge upon the point, "shall we or shall we not be drunkards." In our zeal (and by "our," I mean the zeal both of the prohibitionists and of the anti-prohibitionists), let us not confuse the issue. The question is simply this: What is the best method which we can employ to stamp out the curse of intemperance?

Who ever raises this issue immediately has made a target of himself both for the slings and arrows of misunderstanding and prejudice. But protected by the armor of facts; shielded by the breastplate of truth; and, I trust, crowned with the helmet of a modicum of courage, I am willing to raise a question which must be settled now and forever as far as this generation is concerned, else it will be a breeding cesspool of animosities and hatreds more virulent and fatal than we dare suspect.

I repeat that the prime object and main motive both of the prohibitionist and the anti-prohibitionist are identical. Let not the stench of bigotry, of prejudice, or of ignorance distort that fact.

The method of acquiring temperance is the platform of debate.

Thus, those who take exception to what has been said during this Golden Hour or those who applaud it are requested to read most carefully and weigh most judiciously the exact thoughts and the exact phrasing of them before they either condemn or praise.

Weigh them not in the scales of religious prejudice because this is not a question for either Catholic or Protestant, for Jew or Gentile.

Henceforth, of us it must not be said that the great mortal sin of America is to find facts and then refuse to face them.

Three Definitions

The main argument in this afternoon's discourse is to prove the thesis that the method adopted by the prohibitionists or Anti-Saloon members has failed to benefit the morality of the American home and to erase the curse of the saloon.

But before entering upon such a discussion in which only governmental facts and not private theories will be employed may I preface my remarks by distinguishing three terms.

I refer to the words mentioned last Sunday, 'total abstinence', 'temperance', and 'prohibition'. 'Total abstinence means the absolute abstaining from alcoholic beverages through the free will of the individual. 'Temperance' signifies the moderate use of alcoholic beverages at the discretion of the individual. While the word 'prohibition' is identified with total abstinence from alcoholic beverages through the force of an outside party and not through the free will of the citizen.

Of course, as I repeat, both the prohibitionists and the anti-prohibitionists are loud in their praises of total abstinence and temperance. But the anti-prohibitionist is opposed to the method of employing law to enforce total abstinence, although he is favorable to a law which punishes intemperance.

The second thought with which I shall preface my remarks is that the prohibition question is neither Catholic nor Protestant, Methodist nor Lutheran, Jewish nor Gentile. In 1919 the Anti-Saloon League, according to its own figures and not mine, succeeded in dominating only sixteen per cent of the churches of the nation. Twenty thousand out of one hundred twenty-five thousand church organizations adopted the doctrines of the Anti-Saloon League. And the record of this League makes manifest that it lost five thousand churches between 1919 and 1921.

Add to this the intriguing fact that of the many thousands of letters of approval which came to my office during this past week the majority of them were from Protestants and not a few of them from Protestant ministers.

The Argument

Both Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile are interested most fundamentally in the magnificent foundations of Americanism which in common our forefathers established. And we doubly rejoice in our ability to protect the institutions of law and of learning, the structures of finance and of industry, and the millions of homes which have risen out of the wilderness of the seventeenth century.

Any legislation which throws a bulwark of protection around our institutions and our homes must be preserved even at the cost of life. But any mistaken legislation which undermines peace and liberty and which demoralizes the youth and the institutions of our nation must be retracted before the super-structure of civilization comes toppling down upon our heads.

Thus, gladly admitting the laudable objects which motivated the members of the Anti-Saloon League, what sane citizen would not view proudly the picture of blessedness which they painted? A country given over to prosperity! The street corner purged of the ungodly saloon! Children setting forth upon life's high romance freed from the handicap of the tempter, drunkenness! Prisons emptied, crime eliminated!

Oh! With a deft brush dipped into the fountains of heaven itself there was painted in ecstatic colors a prophetic picture of man's hopes, of earth's transformation.

If prohibition had only stolen from the canvas of its dreams that picture of blessedness and had watched it become a reality upon the streets of our cities and the highways of our nation, what a godly thing it were!

But, instead, a lean, stark poverty stepped forth from the frame. Clouds gathered where sunset had been painted; saloons multiplied where laughing children played; crimes increased where peace reigned; our institutions of law and government were overshadowed by storms instead of kissed by kindly breezes. The poet-painter awoke to face realities instead of dreams. His picture was an ideal, not a reality!

But enough of generalities. Let us face the concrete, cold facts!

Our Heroic Effort

Truthfully has our President, Mr. Hoover, gone on record as saying that: *"The purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment is to protect the American home. . . . I wish it to succeed."*

Thus, hoping it would succeed although he once termed it a "noble experiment," President Hoover in accordance with a campaign pledge appointed a Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement to inquire into the operations of the prohibition law. On this Commission he, our dry President, appointed most reputable, fair minded and cultured Americans! For the use of this Commission, Congress appropriated $500,000 to enable them to make a study of the prohibition question.

A period of eighteen months of study was completed. A nation wide survey determined the real facts and heard the testimony of hundreds of eminent citizens both for and against the law.

Official Findings

On pages 32 and 33 of the official reprint of the Report of this Commission to President Hoover, facts are presented which show that home brewing, home wine making and home distilling have become general since the adoption of the National Prohibition Law. It is pointed out in this same official document that the Federal Government itself is making huge loans to the California grape growers to help them manufacture and distribute prepared materials for the home consumption of strong wines on a large scale.

With respect to home distilling the Wickersham Report says: *"Home distilling has gone on from the inception of prohibition; and in some localities has at one time or another reached large proportions. . . . Also the fact that much home production of liquor is carried on everywhere, facilitates the use of what appears to be dwellings as cloaks for illicit manufacture."*

On Page 21 of that same Report the Commission discussed the prevalence of drinking in homes, in clubs and in hotels. After describing the almost national use of illicit liquor it adds that *"people of wealth, business and professional men and their families, are drinking in large numbers in quite frank disregard of the declared policy of the National Prohibition Act."*

The Multiplication of Saloons

Now I pause to ask ourselves what is the effect of this disregard of the law and of the manufacture of liquor in the American home upon the homelife of the people and its most priceless possessions—the children?

The Wickersham Commission announced in official words: *"To the serious effects of this attitude of disregard of the declared policy of the National Prohibition Act must be added the bad effects upon children and employes of what they constantly see in the conduct of otherwise law abiding citizens. Such things and the effect upon youth of making liquor in the home . . . are disquieting."*

These quotations and statements are more or less general. But they are in keeping with what one of the leading dry propagandists of the country has openly remarked. I refer to Canon William Sheaf Chase, Superintendent of the National Reform Association, a professional prohibition organization. On Pages 121 and 122 of a book entitled "Law Observance" (issued by W. C. Durant), the Canon is quoted as saying: *"The only limitation to the home saloon is that liquors are not sold within its walls, in the presence of federal officers, unless they are trespassers or bribed. But that limitation is easily abated by any bootlegger or moonshiner.*

"Here we have the compromise that drove the saloon from the public places where children were protected by being barred from their doors, into the private homes where the children must live.

"The children could not go to the saloon but the Volstead Act takes the saloon to the children.

"Here in the home the adult members of the family and the invited guests sit with the children at the family table, sip these unconstitutionally protected liquors, damn the Constitution, curse and vilify the enforcement officers. Children here are led into lives of crime."

This statement, ladies and gentlemen, comes from the mouth and the heart of one of the most aggressive advocates of the law who appears at every prohibition hearing of Congress to insist that the law which he admits has taken the saloon to the children and is leading them into lives of crime shall and must be retained upon the statute books of the nation.

The Attitude of the Government

Meanwhile, the President has laid the Report of this so-called Wickersham Committee before the Congress of the United States without one word of comment on the Commission's findings with respect to the effect of the manufacture of liquor in the home in the presence of little children. He has found facts and refuses to face them. Although he said in his campaign speech that the purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment was for the protection of the home, yet with this Commission telling that it is undermining the home and demoralizing the lives of the children he prefers to be as silent as a sphinx.

Moreover, the President's own Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement made bold to call his attention to the fact that: *"Prepared materials for the purpose of easy home wine making are now manufactured on a large scale with Federal aid."* This means, ladies and gentlemen, that the Federal Government is furnishing money to make it easy to manufacture wine in the home and indirectly has leagued itself with the bootleggers of the nation!

What department of the Federal Government is lending money to make it easy to manufacture wines and champagne in the home? How much money has it lent? How much wine is being manufactured in the home? These are questions which may be answered only by quoting from official government documents.

On page 48 of the booklet issued by the Federal Farm Board there appears this statement: *"The grape industry is financed by intermediate credit banks and by the Federal Farm Board."* I might add, that many of these same banks have since that time failed their depositors after having assisted in the legal bootlegging interests.

On page 47 it says: *"It is planned that through Fruit Industries Incorporated numerous by-products will be developed so that ultimately the surplus of grapes will be absorbed."*

Now the by-products which have been developed consist chiefly of a grape concentrate from which twelve to twenty per cent wines can be manufactured in the home. As shown by a letter addressed to Congressman John A. Cochran, of Missouri, and which can be read in the Congressional Record of February 6th, 1931, the Federal Government has made loans to the California Grape Industries of $19,187,662.07 of which $2,555,330. went to the Fruit Industries, Ltd., whose principal business is making grape concentrate for easy home manufacture of wines and champagnes, containing from twelve to twenty per cent alcohol. Thousands upon thousands of cars of California grapes are shipped every year, and the Federal Prohibition Bureau admits that most of these go into the home under the patronage and protection of the Federal Government who denounces as a criminal every citizen who even manufactures a home brew containing as much as one-half of one per cent of alcohol. Legalized hypocrisy!

Admissions From the Officials

How much wine is manufactured in the home under the patronage and protection of the Government? This is a fair question. And to answer it, let the record of the Federal Government itself speak.

The Federal Prohibition Director of the United States Department of Justice is a gentleman by the name of Amos W. W. Woodcock, charged with the duty of enforcing the National Prohibition Law. In September, 1930, Mr. Woodcock issued a document on page 36 of which we read his estimate of wines made in the United States not only in the year 1930, but from the years 1923 to 1930. These estimates are based entirely upon the production and shipment of California grapes which, as I said a moment ago, are partially financed by the Federal Government.

Mr. Woodcock estimated that the wine production of 1930 was 118,320,300 gallons all containing twelve per cent of alcohol. For the five years, 1925 to 1930 inclusive, he found that the probable production of wine from California grapes was 678,320,030 gallons and that this wine contained 71,366,886 gallons of absolute alcohol which, in the equivalent of moonshine whiskey or brandy would be 142,733,272 gallons of one hundred per cent proof. And all this in a so-called prohibition nation!

For the five years preceding prohibition Mr. Woodcock quotes the official records of the Internal Revenue Bureau which shows that the wine consumption in the United States during those years was 229,293,090 gallons.

Now the fact of the matter is this, according to the official figures of our Government: Almost exactly three times as much wine of twelve per cent alcohol content is being manufactured in the United States under prohibition as before prohibition!

Saloons in Homes

But pause for a moment! Under a peculiar provision of the National Prohibition Act which you may read in section twenty-nine, this entire production of wine, so far as it is manufactured in the home, is legal, and is so regarded and accepted by the Federal Prohibition Bureau.

The Prohibition Act has made it illegal to operate a saloon on the corner. It has legalized saloons in every household of America.

These are only a few of the facts which it is possible to assemble during the short space of time allotted to me to indicate that the National Prohibition Act as it stands upon our statute books has made possible saloons of every home of America.

The Legal Loophole

Let me digress for a moment to state that Fruit Industries, Ltd., which is being financed by the Federal Government and is, therefore, in one way or the other under the protection of the Federal Government, has for its legal guardian Mrs. Mable Walker Willebrandt, former Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who had charge of all prosecutions of violation of the prohibition law, and who was most active in the last Presidential campaign for the perpetuation of the Prohibition Act. In the literature of this Company issued under her legal advice, the public is informed that it may lawfully buy and use grape concentrate for making full bodied, dark, red Spanish-type port and other types of wines. In the literature which is disseminated under her legal guidance, you are invited to purchase a keg of their concentrate and wait for sixty days when you will be pleasantly surprised.

Under the late Assistant Attorney General's legal guidance the question is asked of the purchaser: *"Is all this legal?"* And the answer printed in their pamphlet is this: *"Absolutely legal. Section twenty-nine of the Prohibition Act specifically permits you to have Vine-Glo (which is the trade name of the concentrate) in your home provided simply that you do not transport it or sell it."* It does not say, however, that you may not drink it or give it to your children.

Mr. Woodcock, who is in charge of the enforcement of this National Prohibition Act, when asked about the constitutionality of the manufacture of fruit juices or wines or cider in your home; in response to a question pressed upon him by Congressman Tinkham to the effect that it was possible under the National Prohibition Law for every home to become a winery, or a brewery, or a distillery, answers: *"This is the law as Congress has made it."*

Still quoting from the official Government records, this same Mr. Woodcock asserts that practically 70,000,000 gallons of unlawfully distilled liquors are being produced in our prohibition country each year. The few hundred-thousand gallons smuggled from Canada or from England is a mere bagatelle.

Government Activity

Moreover, we are astounded when we read in the official records of the Prohibition Bureau that during the past ten years 1,893,396 illicit stills have been confiscated. We are dumfounded when General Lincoln C. Andrews, who was in charge of all prohibition activities of the Federal Government, testified before the United States Senate that no more than one still in ten has been detected, thus making the total of illicit stills in operation 18,934,960.

Contemplate what this means! Practically so many homes have been turned into wineries, breweries or distilleries and producing besides this immense gallonage of liquor 672,320,050 gallons of wine and champagne for the past five years and 683,000,000 gallons of beer in the last year.

Who will say that these millions both of licit and illicit wineries, breweries, and distilleries have a salutary influence upon the home life of the people and particularly that of the children? Who will not agree with the National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement—the President's own Wickersham Commission—that it is practically impossible to stop home manufacture? On page 33 of this official Report the tragic statement reads as follows: *"The difficulties presented by home production differ from those arising in other phases of the general situation. . . . Law here bows to the actualities."*

My friends, can it be more emphatically stated that the present National Prohibition Law has driven the manufacture of liquors into the American home where it is impossible for the Federal Government with all its great powers of investigation, with its swarms of spies, with its legalized speak-easies to root out the evil that has sought refuge at the family fireside? No one can dispute the fact that the Prohibition Act has multiplied saloons instead of eliminating them.

A Noble Effort

There are some who are liable to criticize the Federal Government for having been lax in its enforcement of this prohibition law. But bear in mind that the Wickersham Commission frankly states that its enforcement cannot be accomplished without the aid of the State Government. On page 82 of the official report an open confession admits the tragic lack of co-operation between State and Federal authorities and concludes that there are no signs that co-operation from the States will ever be extended.

Do not rush to conclusions by condemning the Federal Government for laxity in enforcement. On page 79 of this official document which I am still quoting we are informed that there has been more sustained pressure to enforce this law of prohibition than there has been of any other Federal statute. More than a thousand victims of the prohibition law are sent to jail and penitentiaries by the Federal Government every week in the year to say nothing of the additional thousands being jailed by the State Governments. Approximately $50,000,000 a year is expended on maintaining this arm of the Federal prosecution. The jurors selected for the trial of bootlegging cases are questioned as to their religion and to their stand on the prohibition question before being sworn in to hear a case. Hundreds of pulpits have given themselves over to preach this one commandment, "Thou shalt not drink," as if it constituted the Ten Commandments which were written among the peaks of Mt. Sinai. The Federal Government has left nothing undone to enforce the National Prohibition Act.

The Result

And with what result? Statistics from 315 of our chief American cities as officially compiled by the police departments prove that there were twice as many arrests for drunkenness in 1929 as in 1919. Washington, our National Capital which President Hoover hoped to make the model city of the Union, lamented the fact that for the six years preceding prohibition, 51,321 arrests for drunkenness on the public streets were made but in the six years of 1925 to 1930 this total leaped to 79,000 arrests.

In 1928, the City of Philadelphia with less than 3,000,000 population registered 60,395 arrests for public drunkenness as compared with 55,642 convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales combined with a total population of 40,000,000.

We were told that prohibition would empty our jails and prisons. But the prison records as compiled by the official Census Bureau show that there were 68,735 prisoners in the State and Federal prisons and reformatories in 1910. But in the prohibition year of 1927 these same prisons housed 96,126 inmates.

In England and Wales combined there were 9,508 prisoners in 1926, which is the last year of which I possess the statistics.

But, while the United States under prohibition is crowding its jails and penitentiaries to the door with prisoners, England, without prohibition, has been able to sell 27 jails during the last few years. The State of Illinois has practically as many prisoners in its penitentiaries as has the entirety of England.

These figures are more appalling when we stop to realize that by far the greater number of our prisoners are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years.

Ladies and gentlemen, to express the chief argument of our President who upholds the present prohibition law as it stands upon our statute books, he maintains that its prime function is to protect the youth of the country. Need I remind you that venereal diseases oftentimes are diseases of youth? Must I inform you quoting from official public health service statistics 1,250,000 persons place themselves under treatment every day of the year for these social scourges which wreck the lives and happiness of millions of people? Need I unfold to you the sordid story that last year 16,000 persons died from this plague that is worse than leprosy? Must I blush when I inform you that since the advent of prohibition, this disease of the youth of our nation has increased incredibly? And do not venereal diseases sound the lowest depths of immorality in the ears of those who would keep upon our statute books a hypocritical law which is supposed to guarantee the safety of the youth of America; which has driven the saloon from the corner into the roadhouse, the hip pocket and the convertible coupe—youths who when they marry will make martyrs of their wives and imbeciles of their offsprings?

Do not these indications point to the inescapable conclusion that something has transpired during the prohibition era of almost universal disrespect for law to involve our nation in a wave of criminality unequal to any other period in its history?

And its greatest victims are the youth of the land!

And then there is the sordid history of graft. While the Anti-Saloon League was in power at Washington and in full control of the prohibition enforcing machinery, what was going on? Among other things we had one, George Remus, testifying before the Senate Committee that he paid $2,500,000 to corrupt public officials for his own protection.

Moreover, we have it on the authority of T. Henry Walnut, a former special attorney general in charge of the federal prohibition prosecution in Pennsylvania East, that the corrupt fund of $4,000,000 was paid out in a ninety day period in 1922 for the unlawful release of alcohol in that district.

Do not be alarmed at this huge slush fund for bribery. When you consider that a 10,000 gallon tank car of legitimate industrial alcohol is worth only $3,000; when you consider that in 10,000 gallons of alcohol there are 80,000 quarts of one hundred per cent proof gin or moonshine whiskey which retails for $5.00 a quart, what is the answer? In money, it is $400,000! $3,000 becomes $400,000 from one tank car of alcohol! And the bootlegger becomes a capitalist through his illicit activities because he openly preaches that if the Federal Government can loan money to the Vine-Glo Corporation of California for the indirect manufacture of twelve per cent proof wine, he will not surrender his bootlegging until the Federal Government gets out of the racket.

The Conclusion

In this discussion, ladies and gentlemen, I have presented no opinions of my own. I have merely given you the picture of prohibition in its relation to its effects on the family life of our nation as compiled from official, federal, incontrovertible documents.

During the ten years of this "Noble Experiment" we have had Presidents, Congressmen and Senators whose elections in no mean degree were attributed to those who advocated the present prohibition system. During the major portion of this time the enactment of the National Prohibition Act was in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury whose prohibitionist admirers have termed him to be the greatest since the days of Alexander Hamilton.

Still withal, this Frankenstein of prohibition as it stands upon our statute books has been too gigantic a problem for our prohibition Presidents and for the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since the days of Alexander Hamilton. If these gentlemen cannot control the law, what genius of Americanism can be expected to arise from the ranks of a demoralized country to prevent the National Prohibition Act from completing the destruction of our youth?

I repeat that I am just as staunch in my opposition to intemperance as is any prohibitionist. But I differ from them in that their method is neither Christian, nor American, nor practical. It merely multiplied saloons, crime and graft.

God's Laws Destroyed to Uphold Man's Laws

Two or three of their advocates reminded me that the arguments last Sunday used against prohibition are the identical arguments used against the abolition of slavery. But these advocates are forgetful of the historical incident that a portion of the church which is such a great proponent of modern prohibition was the one great defender of slavery in the days of Lincoln. They are also forgetful of the fact that the New Testament is specifically plain in its condemnation of slavery and is specifically silent on the policy of forcing your fellowman to abstain from alcoholic beverages through the argument of a bullet or a prison cell.

Again: Those opposed to the methods of the prohibitionist are accused of being selfish and careless of their fellow citizens' welfare.

The heresy long since born on a murderer's lips as he slew his innocent brother finds no place in the philosophy of those who favor temperance instead of prohibition.

"Am I my brother's keeper?" sneered Cain in the face of Almighty God. Most certainly we are the keepers of every brother. But I must not keep my brother in sanctity to the degree that all other laws of Divine origin must be eliminated from our personal or national life for the sake of sustaining the prohibition act.

"Thou shalt not kill" spoke God amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai. Nevertheless, innocent bystanders, little innocent children have been slaughtered on the streets of our cities.

"Thou shalt not steal" has been God's law handed down the centuries for the protection of property and the safeguarding of civilization and its institutions. But how often have our public officials become demoralized — policemen, federal agents, thousands of participants in the greatest slush fund ever raised in all history—to uphold the Mohammedan practice of "Thou shalt not drink."

It is a law that has brutalized our courts with their policy of "life for a pint." It is a law that has hypocritized our Congress and our Senate, who have made a travesty of legislation by voting dry and drinking wet. It is a law which has revived the pagan immorality which believes that the end justifies the means. Kill, compromise, lie and steal for the maintenance of that great American deception called prohibition.

No wonder that many Protestant divines will refer to St. Paul who says: "If righteousness has come by the law then Christ has died in vain."

However, let the American Federation of Labor and the bankers of the country hold forth on the economic platform: they are opposed to prohibition; let the American Medical Association substantiate its figures of the alcoholic death rate which has increased 317% since 1920; let the members of the American Bar debate upon the legality of the Eighteenth Amendment. And let the "imps of hell" formerly the American Legion and the heroes of 1918, lend their voices to this chorus of representative disapproval of a fanaticism that is nowise identified either with Catholic or Protestant or any other church.

Today the great mortal sin of the United States of America is to meet facts and refuse to face them. The virtue of paramount importance has been to persevere in one's prejudices.

Purge ourselves of our sin. Discount as a virtue what is really a vice. Until then and not until then you will witness America multiplying saloons, multiplying criminals and debasing the youth of the land.

Our ideals have not perished. Once more let us paint a picture. But let us dip the brush of our hopes and dreams into the Heart of Christ, into the fountain of liberty. Away with saloons that have multiplied. Away with the racketeer who dominates us. Away with our cowardice and our prejudice which prevent us from facing cold, incontrovertible facts!

"Perjured Scoundrels"

Reaction to The Previous Discourses

At least one thing has been accomplished as a result of the last two Sunday discourses. Both the prohibitionist and the anti-prohibitionist eventually has distinguished the real meaning of the word "prohibition."

Henceforth, only unthoughtful persons will continue to identify prohibition with total abstinence and temperance, or to oppose it to the term "drunkenness."

From the thousands of letters which have come to my desk it is gratifying to learn that partisans of both sides realize how closely we are associated in our common opposition to drunkenness.

The method to eliminate it is the one question of debate.

Shall we eliminate it by invoking the strong arm of the law which means a continuation of the "noble experiment"? Or shall we curtail it by educating and purifying the human heart? This last employs the moral force of religion. The former relys upon the physical force of the sword of justice and of law.

A second observation born from the mail bag is this: From many thousands of letters originating from every sector of American life—United States Senators, judges, attorneys, physicians, bankers and merchants, Bishops, ministers, priests—and also from every unprofessional type of American citizen, there were but two of these letters which held to the gratuitous theory that Christ did not use fermented wine.

Without being disrespectful to the opinions of those people and possibly to many others who have not corresponded with me, I am afraid that they find themselves in the same category with the gentleman who maintains that the world is flat.

Any scholar of Jewish history; any student of the New Testament who is acquainted with the story of the marriage feast of Cana or with the ceremonies of the Pascal Feast can offer ample information on that topic.

Then, there was a solitary letter from a biblical student who informed me that there were two kinds of wine—one the blood of the grape, unfermented; and the other the devil's wine—fermented.

"The latter was evil, the former good," so said he.

Now, without obtruding too much history upon this subject, that same statement was made almost seventeen hundred and ten years ago by a gentleman who founded the heresy of Manichaeism.

Fermented wine is a natural and necessary product of bountiful nature. Devised by the infinite mind of God the laws of fermentation are operative for the welfare of man. Closely allied to the law which germinates life within a mother's womb; identified with the same law by which an yeast cake multiplies its kind within the dough of bread, we are confronted with the process of fermentation almost at every turn of life.

Any high school child is appraised of the fact that the sugar which is used in our cooking has an alcoholic content as have dozens of other food products.

Thus, he who would say that fermented wine or alcoholic wine is of the devil must be logical in his conclusions and consign bread and butter, sugar, and vegetable life itself into the hands of the evil spirit.

However, I am happy to realize, as I repeat, that both the prohibitionist and anti-prohibitionist are vigorously opposed to drunkenness. Their individual method of acquiring and maintaining sobriety is the only platform of debate.

Using only facts and not theories it was my endeavor to show that prohibition did not originate with Christ. In truth He acted counter to the principles of prohibition. He drank wine. When He smiled on the limpid waters at Cana of Galilee they blushed into ruddy wine. It was wine which He employed at the Last Supper. Both the pharisees and the publicans of His Own day called Him a wine bibber of which fact you yourself may read in the Gospel of Christ according both to St. Matthew and St. Luke, chapters eleven and seven respectively.

From this you see that Christ practiced temperance and held this virtue up as a mirror in which all future ages could dress themselves. At no time did He look askance upon wine as an evil thing; never did He condemn its moderate use, although the Scriptures frown upon its abuse.

However, one very eminent Protestant minister has removed the necessity of that argument from my lips when he says: "We of the Anti-Saloon League and of the Methodist Church who are informed on the question readily agree that Christ used fermented wine. At no time have those of us on the prohibition side of the question condemned alcoholic wine. Perhaps with that point in mind provision was made for the California fruit growers to continue in their business of indirectly producing wine of alcoholic content in the homes of those who care to buy it today."

Foreword

IN last Sunday's discourse plain governmental and official facts regarding prohibition were cited from the findings of the so-called Wickersham Committee. This group of eminent Americans was selected by President Hoover to ascertain among other things the merits or demerits of the prohibition enforcement.

Their findings are officially accurate. Only a person careless of truth and of authority would dare impugn the conclusions of the Wickersham Committee or would be so vain as to set himself up as better informed.

Because the so-called prohibition question is neither Catholic nor Protestant; because it is purely an American question, every fair minded person resented the attempt at defending the argument in favor of prohibition by stirring up hatred amongst religionists. That the end does not justify the means is readily admitted by everyone. He who attempts to act counter to this principle injures his own cause.

A New Way to Defend Prohibition

With such a thought in mind may I venture further upon this subject. It is a venture in which memories of France become identified with prohibition. A venture put forth to save the sacred name of our heroes from being sacrificed in the flames of a fanaticism which believes that the end of prohibition justifies the defilement of heroes' graves.

Amid the moans of these bleak November winds—winds which play among the naked branches of trees; blustry winds in whose arms dance the brown leaves as they scurry across the fields, my thoughts go back some thirteen years ago. I envision other fields, bleak and barren. Instead of leaves browned by the killing frost, there rise before my mind the bodies and souls of men. Bodies dressed in brown uniforms as are the leaves; souls fleeting across fields in the fantastic dance of death.

Thirteen years ago! And I told you that I would talk upon labor while my heart and mind are filled with thoughts and pictures of those to whom as yet we have not paid our debts for the labor which they performed. How ironical become promises in the hands of fate!

More shameful than that, there are some who have risen in our midst today after thirteen years of peace. In their zeal to propagate the policies of prohibition they have attempted to steal from our soldier boys the honor which was theirs, the glory which they won, and the loyalty which was written across the face of France in the red blood of their sacrifice. This honor, that glory and their imperishable loyalty none may attack except at the price of disaster. Still withal, their honor has been attacked, their glory besmirched, and their loyalty questioned by one who would stoop so low as to justify the maintenance of prohibition at this tremendous cost.

You and I, my friends, both abhor drunkenness. In common we both love temperance. Yet if the leaders of prohibition can defend their policies only at the price of attacking lips which are silent and hearts which are broken, I prefer to cast my lot either with the dead soldier or with his living mother rather than with the sacrilegious cause which defiles them both.

Already I have presented arguments from history and arguments from governmental facts, not in defense of drunkenness but rather in opposition to pagan prohibition. Today—thirteen years it will be next Wednesday—I have a more sacred argument which springs from the depths of my heart. It is an argument where heroes speak and mothers weep. Instead of governmental figures and cold reports there are governmental crosses and cold corpses which stretch out row upon row and mile after mile.

Through the aisles of these crosses this bleak November day there sobs the sad requiem of many hearts: Boys and girls long for a dad to return from a hero's grave; the unending rosary of a wife's tears which like pearls have spent themselves for thirteen years is chanted unceasingly; the sad heartache of the gray haired mother is moaning in the winds—she, like the widow of Naim, mourns for a boy gone from her arms.

These are my argument—these the quick and the dead; arguments that are centered around the sanctuary of my love for the soldiers both living and dead.

A few short weeks ago my ears were shocked with a sacrilegious infamy. These dead soldiers whose lips no longer can themselves defend; their old mothers and broken hearted wives and little boys and girls whose voices are too inarticulate to shield themselves—these have become the latest target of attack in defense of prohibition.

"Perjured scoundrels" is the epitaph spoken of the dead—*"Perjured scoundrels"* is the cold consolation which the executive secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals would sneer into the ears of those children and wives and gray haired mothers when on this Armistice Day they are mindful of their loved ones.

I watched hoping against hope that the "*Kansas City Journal-Post*" and the "*Time Magazine*" must have made some horrible mistake in the calamitous report of September 25th and October 19th respectively, which they had carried in their columns—the news of the "perjured scoundrels".

I waited—waited in vain for the brother officials of Dr. Clarence True Wilson to contradict him boldly; to demand of him public apology and not weak explanation.

You and I have watched and waited in vain.

Of what am I speaking? Need I tell you? Why just a few weeks ago the Reverend Clarence True Wilson, D.D., LL.D., executive secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, is reported to have said:

> *"Legion conventions are planned ahead of time as drunken orgies in defiance of the laws which the men as soldiers, had taken an oath of allegiance to support. . . . The ex-soldier who will do that—and practically all of them did it in Detroit —is a perjured scoundrel who ought not to represent the decency of the flag under which he fought."*

This is a portion of the interview which Dr. Clarence True Wilson gave to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* and which he has not denied nor caused to be retracted in these same columns. Of it, silence were almost golden in the face of such a blasphemous onslaught.

An Honorable Answer

Quoting from Gerald W. Johnson in the *"Baltimore Evening Sun"* of October 1st, may I read the following observation:

> *"Well, every man is entitled to his opinion. It will seem strange to some though, that the soldiers swore allegiance to the Eighteenth Amendment which was not ratified until January* 16, 1919, *and to the Volstead Act which was not passed until October,* 1919.
>
> *"But let that pass. Dr. Wilson would probably say that it is a technicality, and we have already too many technicalities in the discussion of prohibition. Regardless of technicalities, we have the expression of his opinion that every drinking soldier 'is a perjured scoundrel who ought not to represent the decency of the flag.' This is interesting, since Dr. Wilson, by reason of his official position, is the mouthpiece of a great church. One naturally realizes that this declaration of his reflects in no way the opinion of Methodists in general. Too many heroic Methodist boys are buried in France. But one would think that any religious leader who does not agree with Dr. Wilson would lose no time in making his disagreement public, for the implications of that statement commit the doctor and those who agree*

> *with him to an unpatriotic position that is, to put it mildly, very peculiar."*

To open one's mouth in question of the sanity of the prohibition law is called treason. To use the exact words of Dr. Wilson: *"The conspiracy to drive out prohibition is the work of moral cowards. Those who are supporting them are moral cut throats of the basest character."* Well, I am, therefore, a moral coward. And you members of the American Legion are "cut throats of the basest character"—both you and your dead buddies.

Thus, to vilify the millions of soldiers who risked home, happiness and life is now considered the apex of patriotism provided that through this vilification the godliness of prohibition can be preserved. The end justifies the means!

> *"The men who compose the American Legion have taken no new oath since the war. Hence, if drinking makes them perjured scoundrels now, it must have had the same effect at any time since they took that oath; it is certainly no worse to violate an oath thirteen years after taking it than it is to violate it thirteen days or thirteen minutes after taking it.*
>
> *"I remember, in this connection, an afternoon in late September,* 1918. *There was a village in a mountain cove into which a battalion of infantry had marched the day before. Never mind the regiment. I do not claim it was the best regiment in the world. It certainly couldn't drill like the West Point cadet corps. It couldn't maneuver like the Prussian Guard. I am not certain it could have held the railway bank as well as the Twenty-third Infantry did at the second battle of the Marne. It was just an ordinary regiment, made up of men who had been, until a few months earlier, farm boys, machinists, truck drivers, soda jerkers, plumbers, clerks and what not. Any old-time regular army sergeant would have told you, with sulphureous comment, perhaps, that whatever else they were they weren't soldiers and never would be. In fact, several old sergeants had told them that same thing time and again in the training camps back home.*
>
> *"A very ordinary regiment—and yet, it was this good: when the Germans hit it a few days later the Germans*

bounced back. No world beater of a regiment, but good enough for the job, as things turned out.

"On this September afternoon, however, it was a decidedly nervous and uneasy battalion that occupied the tiny, straggling village. The long months of training in the cantonments in the States were over. The trip through cheering crowds to a city by the sea was over. The endless voyage across the Atlantic was over. The three weeks of intensive training behind the lines in France was over. Across the head of the valley in which the village lay, stretched a low mountain ridge; and behind the ridge it thundered all the time, day and night. Night and day.

"Tomorrow the battalion must cross that ridge, and the men knew it was no electrical storm they would encounter on the other side; for the distant mutter behind the hills was the ceaseless voice of the guns.

"I wonder if Dr. Clarence True Wilson ever watched the sun go down knowing that before it rose again he must march into a literal Valley of the Shadow of Death, there to kill or be killed, although his hands had never yet shed human blood? If he has not, I can assure him that he has missed something interesting, very interesting indeed. In the little valley, as the sun dipped down, was an extraordinary sense of peace and security. To be sure, moonrise would bring the enemy flyers, no doubt, to drill the place with machine-gun fire, as they had drilled it last night. But the next two hours—they would be immensely peaceful. The sentinels had been posted, guard had been mounted; the remainder of the battalion was off duty. We knew that it was the last quiet rest for some of us; for when we marched over the ridge some of us would go to stay. Well, that was all right. It was war, and a soldier must take his chances. The point now was, how to spend the last two hours.

"I don't know what Dr. Clarence True Wilson would have advised under the circumstances, but I know what we did. The good wine of France was to be had at three little estaminets. We drank it. We drank it all as it came—plain pinard, burgundy, champagne, bordeaux, anything else.

There were a few bottles of cognac and liqueurs, and we finished them off, too. There had been a marriage feast at Cana and they drank wine. This might be a marriage feast with death, death the bride and I the groom. Dozens of us, nervous, tense, wondering if the shell which screamed overhead, or the rocket which crimsoned the inky sky was planning for us a rendezvous with the ghoulish bride called death—we, too, drank at our marriage feast!

"The night wore on. With Sergeant W., Sergeant J., Corporal S. and others I went back to my billet. We had enjoyed ourselves.

"And the war went on. We marched over the hill, and there was no wine on the other side. The regiment didn't win the war single-handed, but neither did it run away. Eleven o'clock on the morning of November 11, 1918, *found it painfully and laboriously cutting its way through a belt of German wire. But not all of it. Some were missing.*

"Sergeant J., for instance, with whom I had wrestled long before he would go to bed, was not there on November 11. *He had literally screamed when the machine-gun burst went through him, and his lieutenant, who had learned to love him, forgot duty and leaped to his side.*

" 'I'm all right, sir,' he gasped through clenched teeth. 'I'm all right. Look after the platoon.'

"And he died!

"Come to think of it, he was perjured. Why that boy had lied about his age to get into the army. He was only seventeen—that perjured scoundrel.

"It was a machine-gun that got Sergeant W., too. He was a product of the Chicago stockyards district, and about the hardest boiled man my eyes have looked upon. To connect anything remotely resembling an ideal with Sergeant W. was unthinkable. But when another sergeant came along and found W. lying on the ground with his legs hanging by some shreds of flesh, and stopped to ask if he could do anything W. said:

" 'Nothing but this, Beck. If you happen to get out of this alive, maybe some time you'll get up to Crystal Falls, Michigan. If you do, look up my girl and tell her I didn't throw my life away for nothin'. Tell her I did it for somethin' worth while. Aw, heck, you know what to tell her.'

"And he died!

"Maybe he ought not to represent the decency of the flag, but I wish I could have that much faith in my country. I wish I, too, could be a perjured scoundrel of his caliber.

"Jolly Corporal S. came down from the mountains of North Carolina laughing. As a rookie he laughed at his first fumbling efforts to learn the manual of arms, he grinned as he peeled potatoes and scrubbed floors, he accepted blithely all the rigors and hardships of cantonment, camp and field. He was a smart soldier, as even an old regular would admit, and his was a smart squad, although he ruled it with chuckles, rather than curses. Even that night in the valley he was hilarious, not mean, and he had us all laughing as we walked with him to his billet. The whole company loved him, for he kept its spirits up.

"A fortnight later, during a momentary halt in an advance, he sat down and rested his back against a wall. Then the shell came, and afterward they found him there with a four-inch hole blown right through his chest. His merry heart had been literally destroyed, but he still sat against the wall, looking toward the east, toward Germany!

"And on his dead face a smile.

" 'A perjured scoundrel who ought not to represent the decency of the flag under which he fought.'

"A harsh epitaph, that, for a corporal who meant no harm, and who thought that all his country required of him was to do his duty cheerily and go smilingly through the gates of death. A harsh epitaph, Dr. Clarence True Wilson, indeed. I am glad I did not write it; and I am glad I am not one of the thousands who support the man who did write it. I'd rather be a corpse.'

Perjured Scoundrels? Heroes!

And so, buddies, thirteen years have passed! And here I am talking about you as I wander with mistress memory up and down the aisles of white crosses.

But somehow or other, old Sergeant W., Corporal S.—somehow as I kneel down here beside your graves I know that death has lost both its sting and its victory. I know that no fanaticism can ever defame your names.

Perhaps, you are not a martyr in the strict meaning of the word. You never claimed to be one. But you and every other buddy whose cold corpse rests beneath these miles of white crosses—you were heroes and no "perjured scoundrels".

Perhaps, old smiling Corporal S., your clean, pure soul is still smiling down at me and upon the hills of North Carolina, smiling from the parapets of heaven as I kneel here beside your grave and kiss the cross and murmur my "Pater Noster" as a token of eternal friendship for your kindly soul. After all, I know you are in heaven; because I learned at my mother's knee that any brave man who has consciously given his life in defense of his country's honor, in vindication of violated justice—oh, buddy, I long since learned that God made heaven for the likes of you. Isn't that what the good padre preached to us when he told us the story of the Great Soldier Who gave His life on Calvary: *"Greater love than this no man hath than he lay down his life for his friend?"*

Thirteen years! And that is where my memory took me, back to France.

Thirteen years! And we in America have lived to see the day when the gray haired mothers who bore those sons into life, now in their death, are told that they are "perjured scoundrels."

God forbid the fanaticism that gave birth to such thought!

If my voice is carried to the hills of North Carolina or to the stockyards of Chicago, I hope and trust to God that it will dry a mother's tears—the mothers of those boys of whom I have been speaking.

Mother, I want you to open your own Bible at St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians. Or perhaps, I had better read it for you. Your eyes are too dim. It says: *"If the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again. If Christ be not risen again your faith is vain. As in Adam all men die, so also in Christ we shall be made alive."*

O, come now, let us all dry those tears. Our Blessed Saviour said: *"I am the Resurrection and the Life."* Therefore, the history of Lazarus shall be enacted once again for every sister and woman who learned to love a man. The story of Jairus' daughter shall live ten thousand times in reality for every parent who wept bitter tears upon the flower strewn coffin of a child. The drama enacted on the dusty streets of Naim shall be perpetuated for us and for every mother whose boy's body lies in foreign fields.

November winds are singing their sad requiem. But to our beloved dead across the chasm of time we will stretch forth our hands and our hearts. Hands full of gifts; hearts full of respect.

Oh, soldier boys, if your intellects can grasp the meaning of my worldly words, I ask you in the name of those thousands of your fellow legionnaires who today join with me in memory of your heroism, to count each tear as a precious pearl which we lay at the throne of Almighty God—pearls that will form a rosary of kind thoughts, sweet prayers and tender memories. If you are still biding time midway between earth and heaven, it is our earnest prayer that flights of angels will sing you to your rest. Heroes, saints of God! Never, never shall we who revere your memory or those of us who have shared your friendship join thoughts or words with those who call you "perjured scoundrels" to justify their un-Christian and un-American opinions.

Centuries ago there was One also Who gave His life for His friends, and in the very giving of it was called a blasphemer by the holier-than-thou hypocrites who made clean the outside of the cup; who appeared before men as whited sepulchres but whose insides were strewn with bones.

Centuries ago this so-called blasphemer was done to death and willingly gave His life for His friends.

The cross whereon He died has since become a badge of honor. The revilings which He suffered have become His crown of glory.

Your cross, and the vile epitaph that has been written upon it by the modern pharisees shall be honored as long as America is America.

A so-called blasphemer was and is the Son of God.

A so-called *"perjured scoundrel"* and *"moral cut throat"* is and will be the hero of our nation.

Worthy of His Hire

THIS afternoon, my friends, may I occupy the time at my disposal in discussing one of our material and economic shortcomings in the light of Christian principles. I wish to speak principally about wages.

Our Prerogative

It is needless for me to preface my remarks by stating that no president, no august assembly of legislators and no form of human government be it that of a monarchy, of a republic, or of a system of socialism can destroy completely the elements of evil which beget sorrow and heartaches, pain and poverty.

Like a great river this flood of discontent shall flow down the centuries taking here and there its everlasting toll.

These elements of evil are a heritage which spring from human hearts. They beget the thorn and the lash, the spear and the nails which leave their impression upon every individual of us, innocent or otherwise, as in common we trudge our way to the summit of life's Calvary, there to embrace the cross, there to meet death face to face.

Nevertheless, in the face of this tyrant of suffering the religion of Jesus Christ is no subservient religion. It neither cringes in silence nor bows in compromise before the hostile forces of man-made evil. The Christ Who drove the money changers from the temple as they profiteered in the name of religion upon the leaderless population of Israel—that same Christ is prepared to confront the many supporters of the twentieth century money changers who wax fat in their greed for gold at the expense of an innocent population which oftentimes has been betrayed.

If deception and hypocrisy are practiced under the cloak of truth and sincerity, the voice of Christ is still heard sounding a warning and a condemnation. The courageous Christ once inveighed against the scribes and pharisees for trampling upon the rights of the widow and the orphan. He will not be silent when confronted by their modern offspring.

It is the business of Christianity to protect the weak, to feed the hungry, to clothe the poor by holding up the lamp of truth. This shall always be her prerogative.

Lord of the World

During these past few years we in America have been taught to regard ourselves as the chosen people of the god of materialism.

There was painted for us a panorama of resplendent prosperity. We marveled at the prodigious accumulation of wealth. We witnessed vast tracts of virgin land reclaimed from the wilderness. We beheld the utilization of steam and electricity which have become commonly adopted, and we rejoiced in the multiplication of labor saving devices whose main purpose and object was to lift the burden of labor from the hands of weary men.

Like a new god, the siren voice of American prosperity announced to the world: *"Come unto me all ye who are heavily burdened and I will refresh you."*

And why not take refuge within the embrace of those arms of wealth and power? Had not our bankers and economists portrayed for us our superiority over the rest of the world?

There were India and China, Abyssinia and Afghanistan—thousands of square miles of ancient dynasties upon whose mighty breasts were nurtured two-thirds and more of the world's population. What had these nations accomplished? Their citizens were burdened by the yoke of a so-called civilization which was reminiscent of the days of slavery, days of thankless, worthless toil.

And what for the history of America? In its short life of one hundred fifty years it had witnessed more material progress than had Asia in the past one hundred fifty centuries. Here was liberty. There was slavery. Here, labor saving inventions had lightened the toil and had improved the living conditions of everyone of our citizens. The steamship took the place of the slow sailing vessel. The railroad train and the automobile supplanted the obsolete wagon. The scythe had given way to the reaping machine; the flail, to the threshing machine.

Great turbine engines and harnessed Niagaras were throbbing night and day producing power greater than all men and all beasts of burden on the earth combined. A thousand pairs of shoes where the old time cobbler made but one spring into being; factories where under the watchful eye of a simple girl, cotton becomes cloth faster than hundreds of stalwart weavers could have turned it out with their clumsy looms; mammoth shafts and mighty anchors, motor cars and miles of concrete for them to ride upon—all of these are fabricated and manufactured with a speed and a quantity almost unbelievable.

"Behold these!" says the economist. "They are the offspring of the new god of prosperity. These are the children of progress.

"Progress" so insists the industrialist, the economist, and the international banker!

"Poetry" so speaks the jobless man in the street, the dispossessed farmer, and the ten thousand who are wincing under a system that refuses to face facts while their homes are being confiscated and their families are starving under a condition of chronic unemployment and of irrational taxation which penalizes tremendously a home owner!

Well, my friends, it is not my purpose to review for you any further this epic of American progress. Nor is it my purpose to recite for you the limitations of a so-called depression. The progress with its machinery is here to remain. The depression with its poverty is, if you will it, on the wane.

Napoleon once characterized England as a nation of shopkeepers. Were the "Little Corporal" living today perhaps he would say that America was nothing more than a nation of factory hands. As a matter of fact the United States is capable of supplying two-thirds of the machined products of the entire world. One hundred twenty million people occupied either directly or indirectly in supplying the mechanical necessities of one billion people!

As far back as the year 1914 the United States had attained leadership in manufacturing. Our methods of mass production enabled us to undersell practically every competitor.

That was the year when the factory worker's salary was raised to five dollars a day: an event that astounded the world! The Irish and the Polish peasant, the Italian and German farmer were under the impression that the streets of America were paved with gold. Five dollars a day! And this seventeen years ago!

No wonder that our factories multiplied. No wonder cities like Detroit grew from five hundred thousand to a million five hundred thousand. The world was waiting for our produce. It was our business to supply it as speedily as possible. Night and day the motors hummed. Shift followed shift. Day wages gave way to hourly wage. Hourly wages succumbed to the piece-work wage. The five dollars a day oftentimes mounted to ten and fifteen and eighteen dollars a day. America must supply the waiting world. New machines must replace the inept hands of the obsolete craftsman.

In this mad rush for efficiency and production there was scarcely a competition to be feared. Asia still dwelt in the sleep of the tenth century. Europe had not progressed beyond the early nineteenth century. South America and Africa and Australia were still in their pioneering days. We of the United States were lords of the world!

Birth of Machine Competition

Certainly a new day had dawned. The machine had liberated the American citizen. Both rich and poor alike enjoyed the thousand conveniences born of electricity. There was a motor car for every family. An electric washing machine for every housewife. The standard of living for the laboring class had surpassed the most sanguine expectations.

Then came the Great War: and the bubble of prosperity was punctured! There had been other European wars. Formerly Europe was content to purchase from us food and cotton, wool and shoes, rifles and shells. But this time conditions had been altered. Our own factories though pulsing night and day were unequal to the task of production. And so we find Europe imitating us in its methods of manufacture. This time machinery and engineers were exported from our shores.

What has happened since that day? For one thing, our great American motor manufacturers have established factories practically in every country of Europe. Our industrialists and financiers have taken money made in America and, without any burden of tax imposed upon it, have invested practically thirteen billion dollars to raise up competitive plants in foreign countries. Thirteen billion dollars made by the sweat of American brows sent abroad to build up foreign competition!

This was the expected thing, the natural thing. No one but an idle dreamer could entertain the thought that we Americans could proceed along our way supplying almost two-thirds of the manufactured products of the world indefinitely. Others with as much sagacity as we possess soon would endeavor to equal us else their own systems of industrialism and of finance would perish.

Eventually there came this world wide depression. Our factories although vacated are still intact. Our working men although idle have not lost the nimbleness of their fingers. Our executives although worried have retained their remarkable ingenuity. And we have come to face the fact that under present conditions no more than two and one-half days of each week are required with our present equipment to manufacture the goods which can be consumed normally by our own population. Our former prosperity which was greatly dependent upon exportation for the consumption of the shoes, the engines, the automobiles, and the many other items of mass production has passed. It was a prosperity that grew without the hazards of competition. It was a prosperity which witnessed the birth of a strange condition of permanent unemployment and chronic poverty.

The chronic unemployment was born of the fact that our tremendous battalion of machines can produce a supply over and above the demand of the consumer. Thus, the machines must be kept idle until the goods are consumed. The laborer must be content to work two or three days a week or not at all, and work at an hourly wage.

The Christian Attitude

Needless to say, we are confronted with perhaps the greatest moral problem of the age when we pause to face these facts. To express the problem in plain English may I put it in the form of a question: *"Under the present conditions of mass productionism is it not moral to affirm that the laborer must be guaranteed a fair, permanent and equitable wage despite the tremendous productive power of modern machinery?"* That is the question. The answer of the Catholic Church to it is a most emphatic *"Yes."*

Now associated with this thought is the unassailable and Christian theory that it is the business of government—especially a government that boasts of being of the people, by the people and for the people—to interest itself in maintaining the permanence of occupation for the ninety-six per cent of its population who belong either to the laboring or to the farming class, and to insist that the laborer is worthy of his hire. This permanence of labor is the root and basic question of all economics. This is the necessary and fundamental moral issue of our day that must be solved if our nation will endure.

No government except one that is partial and blinded will bend its major effort in caring only for the capitalist or the financier. Such efforts reminds one of curing a broken leg by poulticing the head. An equal effort, at least, must be expended in guaranteeing permanent work for every man who is willing to work. What good is the wealth accumulated in the hands of a few unless their fellow citizens are living in peace and contentment? Of what use are the mass production machines unless the citizens of our nation are possessed of sufficient money to purchase the products thereof? In what nation has the right to private ownership ever been called into question except where the right to labor has been denied? Neither revolution nor banditry nor socialism thrives in a nation where there is work for the laborer who is worthy of his hire.

The right to work is as sacred as the right to own one's property. In fact the right to private ownership depends in one sense upon the right to work.

Without labor that is done by the sweat of the citizens' brows neither coal nor iron, neither silver nor gold can be fetched from the bowels of the earth. Without this labor the wheat fields will still be wild prairies and the cotton fields nothing but stamping grounds for herds of buffalo. Labor must precede capital. It is prior to it and capital depends upon it more so in that sense than labor depends upon capital.

These materials of metal and the produce of the field have from time immemorial been produced from the earth without the expenditure and assistance of so-called capital. I do not mean that labor and capital are independent of each other. I simply mean that labor must precede capital as it did in the days of the patriarchs; as it did in the days of our pioneer forefathers; and as it still does in the case of the hardy prospector and the homesteading farmer.

We have been living in an era which has been blind to this philosophy. An era which leaned towards the great immorality that labor entirely depends upon capital; and that capital must be protected at the expense of labor. As a result it has been an era bounded by the accumulation of untold wealth in the hands of the capitalists on the one side and on the other by the increase of forced idleness and starvation for the laborer. It has been an era that is forgetful of the basic law of life, the law of self-preservation.

Many eminent men among whom are Owen D. Young and Senator James Couzens, have expressed the thought that it is the business of industry or of capitalism to guarantee the care of the laboring class. In fact Mr. Young has gone further and has given expression to what many would call a radical thought when he said that industry belongs to the laborer. To use his exact words he visualized the *"day when* *human beings will be engaged in a particular undertaking so that they truly will be the employer buying capital as a commodity in the market at the lowest price . . . and when they will be entitled to all the profits over the cost of capital."* This is just the reversal of the conditions now existing. Today capital buys labor as if it were a commodity. At any rate, my friends, the laborer has a right to a just and a living wage.

Concentration of Wealth

May I pause to tell this audience a few facts regarding American wealth which abounds in the midst of forced poverty.

Mr. Arthur Brisbane informs us that we have forty thousand millionaires in the United States. On the other hand conservative men estimate that we have seven million idle laborers who with their wives and children know not how they shall survive this winter.

According to the best information available there are three men in the United States whose wealth has been estimated at five billion dollars. Twenty-five years ago the largest fortune in our country was rated at one quarter of a billion. Today we have two fortunes totaling eight times that amount; two more at four times that amount and hundreds at and around the quarter of a billion mark. Forty thousand millionaires controlling wealth estimated at one hundred sixty billion dollars provided the average wealth of every millionaire totals four million dollars! Here we have one thirty-third of one per cent of our total population controlling over fifty per cent of the wealth of our nation.

I might also remark that for the first ten months of 1930, the black year of this present depression, the dividends paid out to stockholders exceeded the dividends paid in the peak year of prosperity, 1929, by more than a billion dollars.

According to the *New York Times* of October 1st, 1930, these dividends for the first nine months of 1930 amounted to $3,621,000,000 as compared with $2,395,000,000 during the same nine months of 1929.

Instead of making general statements regarding forced idleness which goes hand in hand with the increase of wealth and mass production it were better for me to give you some concrete facts.

In the great year of prosperity, 1929, industries upon which forty per cent of our wage earners depend for a living actually employed 900,000 fewer wage earners than they did in the meager year of 1919 although the business handled was far greater. In manufacturing, our factories fabricated forty-two per cent more products with 546,000 fewer wage earners, our railroads increased their business by seven per cent with 253,000 fewer employes, our coal mines surrendered twenty-three per cent more coal with approximately 100,000 fewer miners. The astounding figures are compiled by the American Federation of Labor from official government reports.

It takes no Solomon to arrive at the conclusion that the conditions under which we are operating and the industrial laws under which we are governed have been formulated to favor the few and to disregard the many. And it requires no great mathematician to discover why there is a chronic increase in unemployment.

I am citing these figures and facts simply to make clear conditions which have grown unchecked in our midst.

It is a condition which is opposed to the tenets of the natural law and of the Christian religion. A forced idleness which begets poverty; and a poverty which sometimes begets death is opposed to the first law of existence—the law of self-preservation and to the Fifth Commandment of God *"Thou shalt not kill."*

The Lesson Learned

In modern times Pius XI, the leader of Catholic thought and the Head of the Catholic Faith, has said: *"Every effort, therefore, must be made that at least in future a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy, and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the workingman."*

These are not my words, my friends. They are the words of one who rules over the destiny of over three hundred million Roman Catholics. He is not a socialist nor a disciple of Karl Marx. He is the follower and representative of Jesus Christ. It is he who insists that only a just share of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy. It is he who teaches the basic law of Christianity that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the workingman.

In spite of ourselves, or rather in spite of our political leaders, this depression is passing. But never more will the American workingman be content to sell his labor for a wage that is uncertain and for a remuneration that is insufficient.

This is the greatest profit which has accrued to the American laborer out of the sufferings through which he has passed. If he fails to reap the reward of his suffering and the lesson gained by his bitter experience, he needs to blame no one but himself as he continues to bear the burden of a slavery that is dressed up in the gaudy garments of liberty and prosperity.

The haphazard prosperity which we enjoyed in the days of no competition has passed. For the future there can be no other prosperity except that based upon Christian principles which are traceable to the first law of life—the law of self-preservation.

Thus, stoic complacency on the part of legislators must give way to Christian action. Actions, not words, are required!

The Answer in Your Hands

In 1920 as Vice-Chairman of President Wilson's second industrial conference, Mr. Hoover issued the following pronouncement: "*The enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress making provision for an employment clearing house under federal control*" will be inaugurated.

In 1921 as Chairman of President Harding's Conference on Unemployment, he was chiefly responsible for a proposal to set up "*an adequate, permanent system of employment offices.*"

In 1923 as Secretary of Commerce he appointed a committee on business cycles and unemployment which recommended *"a national system of employment bureaus."*

This is the history of our President's attitude towards chronic unemployment before he became President.

But in 1930 and '31 something has occasioned a change of attitude on the part of his cabinet and his controlled Congress. They have refused to face the facts.

When Senator Wagner of New York came forward with three unemployment relief and prevention bills one of which embodied *"an adequate, permanent system of employment offices"*—the exact words used in 1921, the bill was scouted as were the other Wagner Unemployment Bills.

"Thou shalt earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow" legislated the God Who created us.

If He has implanted in the human heart both the desire and the right to live; and if life depends upon bread and the things for which bread is symbolic, what man-made legislation can flaunt these eternal laws which were written before any government was founded and which will remain long after the Stars and Stripes will be folded in the dust of time with the flags of ancient Rome and Egypt and Persia?

Thus, my friends, while there are many in America who have looked askance upon the Church as a weakling; who have regarded it as a tool of the banker and the capitalist, may I politely inform them that they have been grossly mistaken.

It is the function and the duty of the Church to preach the truth at all times, in season and out of season. She is still the protector of the widow and the orphan. She still protests against the greed and the lust for gold. She still insists upon the practice of the charity of Christ. And in this case she insists upon a limitation of wealth in the hands of the rich and a fair and equitable wage for every man who is willing to work. It is simply her business to teach the citizens of this democratic country. But their destiny is in their own hands. Upon these citizens depends the answer to the question: *"Is the laborer worthy of his hire?"*

Render To Caesar

The Question

IT HAS ever been the thought and teaching of Christianity that families do not exist for the State. Rather, it is the State which exists for the conservation, the preservation and the prosperity of the families which either in themselves or in their ancestors freely called the State into being.

Thus, no government in justice can adopt the immoral policy whether they call it conservative or otherwise of building up legislation which is destructive of the family or which is inimical to the rights of families to own and to possess their homes.

Primarily, it is the business of every government to sustain family life and to support the natural desire and right of man to establish a home without which a family cannot subsist.

This, my friends, is the underlying thought of this afternoon's discussion. It is a discussion which is most intimately concerned with the welfare of every American citizen; a discussion which will place before us an assemblage of facts gleaned from unassailable government statistics. They are facts which you and I must face and face bravely. Otherwise through our ignorance and inaction our system of government and American Constitution both shall be imperiled. Order will give way to chaos; our present democracy shall lapse into a military, socialistic tyranny.

Of the truth of these assertions you yourselves will be the judge.

Russian Revolution

Almost fifteen years ago the great empire of Russia with its two hundred million and more population divorced itself from the nations of the world. Its rulers were assassinated, churches were despoiled and confiscated. Lands and homes were snatched from the hands of their possessors. Children became the property of the State. Hundreds of thousands of her citizens were murdered for daring to raise their voices in protest.

The communism of Karl Marx, so we were informed, became a reality.

Not for one instant do I purpose entering the sanctuary of your home bent upon a mission of placing a halo around the brow of Marx or of speaking in euology of Russian Sovietism.

Nevertheless, the Russian Revolution of 1917 was only the climax of a sordid tragedy of oppression. The Revolution would not have been chronicled in the pages of history had there not been ample cause to promote it.

What, then, was the story preceding the Russian Revolution?

The historian who dares write of it must dip his pen into the crimson ink of cruelty and despotism. If he is truthful he will picture for you prisons which for years had been filled with political unfortunates. He will portray for you a Siberia with its cold and its hunger and its desolate lives. If he has courage he will depict the flood of bigotry which engulfed the disparaged Jews; the iron heel of despotism which crushed courage and hope and life from the soul of the peasants; the greed and the avarice which motivated the policies of the rich and ruling class. His history shall not forget to mention the confiscation of land. And finally he will point out to you the black clouds of discontent which, under a system of unbelievable and of unjust taxation, gathered in the minds of the ignorant populace.

These were the storm clouds which preceded the rain of blood of 1917.

With all its unfounded optimism; with its manifold mistakes and philosophic errors the four horsemen of the modern apocalypse of communism rode into red Russia. In the vanguard of the leaderless oppressed, there sat "Atheism" on his pale, gray charger. *"What had the Church accomplished for the people of Russia in the days of oppression?"* That was his rallying cry.

Jowl by jowl with "Atheism" there rode on a scarlet beast the spectre of "Hatred"—hatred for the rich; hatred for the Cossack and his whip; hatred for the jailer and his bullets; hatred for the tax gatherer and his injustice.

Then followed another rider. His name was "Deceit." With lying lips he told those whom he met of a happiness, of a springtime filled with gladness, of a summer replete with pleasure, of an autumn pregnant with wealth.

And lastly sounded the iron clad hoofs of another beast upon whose saddle sat the giant of "Might." In his steel heart there was no mercy. In his cruel hand there was only crimson murder.

So, fathered by discontent and mothered in the womb of oppression, came communism into the world.

There are some in our midst, perchance, who are under the impression that communism is born of an uncontrolled greed existing in the mind either of the peasant or of the laboring class.

That is not the idea expressed by Karl Marx. Nor is it the truth as evidenced by history. Communism is the illegitimate offspring of decadent capitalism.

Communism is a protest. It is an irrational attempt to escape from an irrational oppression.

It is difficult for an American to visualize the possibility of such provocative causes maturing in this country. It is difficult to surmise how a generation of Americans can surrender their intelligence to the atheism and idle sophistries of Marx and his followers. We are neither hopeless nor helpless Russian peasants. For as yet the autocracy of the Czars has not been perfected within the borderlands of our own country which still rejoices in democratic principles if not practices.

Thus, when serious defects arise in the system of government under which we have been established, we possess within our own power the ability to eradicate them and still preserve the Constitution.

However, remember that communism according to its leaders was born of decadent capitalism.

Taxation

It is the teaching of the Catholic Church, to quote Pope Leo XIII, that *"it must not be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests temporal and earthly."* It is also the teaching of the Catholic Church to quote from the same venerable Pontiff that "*the first duty of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well being and private prosperity.*"

Now, either through governmental carelessness or mismanagement or through class favoritism there has arisen in our midst a most serious condition which if not checked quickly will create anything but public well being and private prosperity. Instead it will beget widespread discontent. And from this discontent, who knows what shall eventuate?

I refer to a system of taxation which militates against the ownership of private property and against the destruction of the American home and farm.

Before entering into detail upon this topic may I inform you that the Catholic Church has spoken in no ambiguous terms regarding the theory of taxation.

Pope Pius XI has recently announced: "*Already it has been declared to be unlawful for the State to exhaust the means of individuals by imposing crushing taxes and tributes. The right to possess private property is derived from nature, not from man. The State, therefore, has by no means the right to abolish it but only to control its use and bring it into harmony with the interests of the public good.*"

And now may I ask the rhetorical question: "*Has the United States of America and the individual States of which our nation is comprised exhausted the means of individuals by imposing crushing taxes and tributes?*"

The answer shall be left to your own judgment in the light of the governmental facts which I shall present.

In the State of New York for the year 1914, the total tax bill for all purposes including local, municipal, county and state tax amounted to $283,665,801.00.

In the same State for the year 1930 this tax increased to $1,143,579,066.00.

In the State of Massachusetts the total state and local taxes for the year 1914 aggregated $103,500,000.00. For the year 1930 this tax became $313,800,000.00.

For the State of Michigan in the year 1914 the total state tax was only $6,129,228.11 as compared with the state tax for the year 1930 which was increased to $29,500,000.00.

In the State of Illinois we have for the year 1914 a tax of $112,453,000.36. For the year 1929 this same state exacted a tax of $420,676,021.40.

I am citing these figures merely as samples of what is transpiring over the entire nation. Our state taxes are today nearly four times greater than what they were in the year 1914, and the land value of taxable property has decreased from twenty to fifty per cent.

Meanwhile at least ninety-six per cent of the taxpayers who belong to the farming and to the laboring class are not as well circumstanced today as they were in other years. They are less able to bear the burden of taxation.

I am not referring only to this last year of our so-called depression. Let us turn back the pages of history.

As far back as the year 1925 we are informed by Ethelbert Stewart, the Commissioner of Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, that the cost of living has decreased only fifteen and one-half per cent while the money paid the workingman has decreased almost forty per cent. And this since 1925!

In giving us these disquieting figures the United States Department of Labor says through Mr. Stewart: *"This means that the income and consequently the purchasing power of employes in manufacturing industries as a whole was less by forty per cent than it was in 1925, whereas the average decrease of all items of livelihood was only fifteen and one-half per cent."*

Despite the taxation which has increased tremendously since that year the small home owner has been forced to pay a tribute on a wage that has been steadily decreasing. Taxation has increased. Land values have decreased in many instances. And with it a penalty has been placed upon the shoulders of those who have ventured to purchase a home.

In the week ending June 22nd we have opposed to these official figures and to the more pertinent facts which I will cite for you the words of President Hoover who has informed us: *"We have assured the country from panic . . . we have steadily urged the maintenance of wages . . . we are saving our farmers and workmen through the tariff . . . we are holding down taxation."*

And this statement that has since been contradicted by governmental fact comes from the President of our country on the eve of a new tax levy!

The insignificant taxation imposed upon us in the year 1914 redounds to the praise, the thrift and the honesty of our ancestors. They not only had builded a nation for us. They also assumed the major portion of its cost. But today we are attempting to foist upon the unborn citizens of future generations the stupendous debts which we have accumulated under the weakest Secretary of the Treasury since the birth of our republic.

Under the management of a government that has been more interested in foreign politics than it has been in home affairs, we are watching our national deficit skyrocket at the rate of approximately $6,000,000.00 a day until it will soon be lost in the meteors of family despair and of national destruction.

We are witnessing the puerile attempts to curtail this deficit by our government's taking the easiest course—further borrowing—and therefore, increased indirect taxation upon both homes and farmlands.

Destruction of the Farmer-Class

And with what results?

According to a booklet named "Crops and Markets" published last August by the Department of Agriculture of the United States, we are officially informed that 26.1 farms out of every thousand were sold during the past year under mortgage foreclosures or for taxes.

Now according to the 1930 census taken by the United States Government there were 6,288,648 farms in the United States.

If the figures of the Department of Agriculture for these foreclosures and sheriff sales are correct, then 164,143 farms were sold for taxes and under mortgage foreclosures during this single year.

Visualize what this means.

In figures it means 450 farms every day, including Sundays, sold under the hammer.

If we estimate five persons to the farm family we find that 2,250 farm folks are dispossessed every day of the year and forced to begin the trek over the hill to the poor house or to God knows where.

In a month this amounts to an army of 67,500 wanderers without homes. In the last year according to this estimate a homeless, helpless multitude of American farming citizens numbering 821,250 have lost shelter and hope under a system of taxation, the morality of which in the face of this fact is entirely questionable.

This has happened in the glorious years dedicated to the "noble experiment" of prohibition whose promises like those of Karl Marx would beget prosperity and happiness to the agricultural class of America!

Federal Farm Boards were organized to benefit the farmer. Non-partisan organizations were established to educate them. And thus, spurred on by a false hope which has faded like a mirage, the farmers of America have been awakened from their lethargy only to be confronted by their ruin.

The Census Bureau official reports show that the value of farmlands and buildings as far back as the year 1920 was $66,316,002,602.00.

In the year 1930 the value of these same farmlands and buildings was but $47,879,838,358.00.

In the face of the taxation which has been trebled and quadrupled and which has descended over our entire nation like a pall, the decline in the value of farmlands and buildings for the ten year period of prosperity was $18,446,164,244.00 less. These are figures of which you cannot afford to be ignorant. These are concrete governmental figures which give the lie to general statements of professional politicians.

Thus, not only has the laborer's wages decreased. During the past ten years the value of farmlands has decreased tremendously.

Meanwhile, the mortgages on these farms have increased. In the last ten years $1,610,826,000.00 has been added to the mortgage debts of our farmers. And this on their farmlands that have decreased in value! And with what result? Step by step and pace by pace with the increased burden of taxation our farming population is being dispossessed, the value of farmlands is decreasing. On the shoulders of those who still retain their holdings there is impounded the further burden of taking up the taxation which has slipped from the feeble hands of their less fortunate neighbors.

In many cities and residential counties a similar catastrophe is occurring. According to the authorities of the County of Wayne, Michigan, there were approximately 7,300 families during the last two months evicted or dispossessed in the said County, of which the City of Detroit comprises at least eighty-five per cent of its population. If every family averages only four persons this means that in a year 175,200 individuals who formerly knew the thrill that was theirs to possess a home, are sent wandering from pillar to post after having made heroic effort to save their little investment and the shelter that was so dear to them.

In the adjacent County of Oakland, where the Shrine of the Little Flower is situated, according to the official reports 73,540 parcels of land were confiscated by the State in the year 1931 for non-payment of taxes. Of these, 1,665 were bought by other individuals. But the balance of 71,875 were sold to the State. These figures are more appalling when you consider that the total population of Oakland County is only 211,251 persons.

Sober Reflection

We speak much of State ownership of public utilities. We discuss the danger of the on-coming of socialism. But if this system of unbearable taxation persists it will not be long until the State of Michigan will own a considerable portion of the farms and homesites.

The American public is very much perturbed over the millions of dollars lost in our bank failures. But the money lost through the confiscation of private property; through the inability to pay taxes and through the foreclosures of mortgages throughout the United States has exceeded the bank failures by at least many times that amount.

Other figures can be ascertained from the various departments of our government to prove that more wheat and cotton, more sheep and cattle have been raised during this period of years to which I have been making reference. This only goes to show that God Almighty has blessed us in the midst of our own frenzy. But the fact still remains that a vast army of American citizens has fallen foul of a system of taxation which too often has favored the rich and has discriminated against the sturdy American farmer and laborer. It is a man-made tragedy. You cannot blame it upon Almighty God.

If we are bending every effort to restrain the advances of socialism in a nation that is courageous though heartsick, for God's sake let us have mercy upon the workman and the farmer! Let us burden him no more with a yoke of tribute which he is scarcely capable of carrying. Remember the hand writing on the wall of history! Remember Russia!

At any rate, this is a heritage of debt of which we should be ashamed to cast upon the children of the coming generation. Nevertheless, it is a heritage that was born out of the false promises and manipulated by the disciples of the gospel of prohibition. Truly the sins of the parents shall be visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations. "Prohibition at any price" has been our slogan. It has been a costly price for the farmers and city home owners of our country who were deceived in electing public officials whose chief claim to office was their adherence to the dictates of the Anti-Saloon League.

Two things are certain. We have incurred the debts which are now subject to the taxation that has mounted and is mounting into the ethereal wildernesses of the clouds: These debts must be paid. And the second item of certitude to quote Pope Pius XI with whom every sane man agrees: "*The State has by no means the right to abolish private property but only to control* *its use and to bring it into harmony with the interests of the public good."* Hence Leo XIII has already "*declared it unlawful for the State to exhaust the means of individuals by imposing crushing taxes and tributes.*"

A Suggested Remedy

This, my friends, is the official expression taught by the Catholic Church. This is of interest both to home owners and to those who merely rent. Because eventually the renter pays the price for the taxation.

In this quandary when confronted by the two necessities, the one of paying our debts, and the other of safeguarding our homes what shall we do in order to prevent a further decrease in land value, a further confiscation of farmlands and of the laborer's small home?

I might mention passingly that until December 31, 1930, we had invested in our nation by the wealthier class $20,190,000,000.00 in national, state, county and municipal bonds that were free from federal income tax.

I might also mention that approximately thirteen billion dollars has been invested by private individuals in foreign markets. And this money carries no taxation upon it.

At the rate of a tax not exceeding three per cent it were possible to collect over $1,500,000,000.00 emergency tax upon that tremendous amount of money which at present is helping but little to play its part in facing this crisis.

However, I do know one thing for certain regarding the acquiring of funds to pay our taxation. It is this:

In the year 1918 there was a tax levy of 65% on incomes of one million dollars and over.

It means that the corporation or the millionaire with an annual income of one million dollars paid at least 65% to the Federal Government. That was in the year of 1918. That figure is according to the "Statistical Abstract," a Government publication.

But in the year 1925 when Mr. Mellon and the dry congress had gained control of our finances this tax upon million dollar incomes was reduced to 15.83%!

Those were the days when the Government and the newspapers boasted of a reduction in taxation. Truthfully, they were the days when the burden of carrying the federal tax was lifted from the super-millionaires and fastened upon the back of a groaning population.

A reduction of almost 50% of income tax was removed from the million dollar corporations. Taxes were refunded by the millions. The small home owner and farmer became the biblical goat upon whom was cast the sins of mismanagement and favoritism. This, at least, need not continue.

Oh, what price have we paid for our prohibition politicians!

In no sense should this suggestion be considered a tirade against the rich. Upon their shoulders must be borne the burdens which have been imposed upon us by those who have been so inexpert in guiding the ship of State.

The rich will but protect themselves by protecting others.

Thus, let us be wise in recognizing the fact that the safety of the nation depends upon the security of the home; that the stability of the capitalist is associated with the contentment of the laborer. If further taxes must be imposed upon us either by county, or by state, or by national government, some policy must be discovered by which these tributes shall not be levied upon the already over burdened small home owner or the farmer.

The Church is anxious for the workingman and the farmer to own his own home. The Church is interested in the wide-spreading of private ownership. In a nation where these policies are carried forth there is danger neither of socialism nor of communism. There must be no red ruin for America. There must be no decadent capitalism! And moreover, the Church has always had more recourse to the efficacy of prayer than to the preachments of moral theology.

Of old our homeless forefathers knelt upon the fringe of the hostile forest to dedicate themselves to Almighty God.

We, too, be we Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, shall in this week of Thanksgiving rededicate ourselves and our homes once more to Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life.

An Example

There comes to my mind a story gleaned from the pages of Scottish history. It is the story in which the name of Bruce of Bannockburn is woven. The Bruce who won independence for his people.

History has it that he was a man courageous and religious.

When the dim spectre of death was approaching he called to his side his trusty lieutenant, Douglas, and asked him that when death had come to perform an act of devotion.

"Take my heart from my dead body," said Bruce. *"Carry it to the Holy Land and bury it near the tomb of Jesus Christ."*

Eventually, the hero of Bannockburn passed to his reward among the heroes of heaven. His mortal heart was placed in a silver casket and handed to Douglas.

Accompanied by a valiant band of Scottish warriors Douglas set sail from Scotland; landed on the shores of Spain, and began his long march to the Holy Land.

Those were the days of bitter hostility. The Moors held nothing but hatred towards the Christians.

Thus, as Douglas ascended the slopes of the Pyrenees, he was accosted by a horde of Saracen Moors.

From the heights of the hills the enemy showered arrows and stones upon the Scottish troops. Undaunted, they bear onward only to encounter more stones and more deadly arrows.

Their ranks are broken and devastated.

Quickly Douglas reassembles his shaken troops. He appeals to them in the name of the heroes of Bannockburn. He appeals to them in the name of the sepulchre of Christ!

Once more he forms their ranks. Once more they storm the heights. Once more they are targets for stones and for arrows.

Douglas is in the vanguard waging fierce battle. As he glances around him he suspects that his followers are about to retreat. From his breast he draws the silver casket which contained the heart of the beloved Bruce. He holds it high in view of all his Scottish troops. And then turning towards the enemy he casts both casket and heart into their midst with the words: *"Onward, dear heart, as thou wert wont. Douglas will follow thee or die."*

Immediately Douglas pushes on into the midst of the Moors. His troops magnetized by this drama of heroism follow in his footsteps. The Moors are repulsed. There on the battlefield lies Douglas dead with the heart of Bruce clasped to his lips!

Today, my friends, the heart of Jesus Christ is held high for all of us to view. He, the Protector of homes and of womanhood, the lover of little children, the victim of Calvary, is not forgetful of His own home where He lived in serenity with Mary and Joseph.

Today He looks down from His throne in highest heaven into the homes of those of you who have gathered here this afternoon. He knows how dearly you cherish its fond possessions. He has pledged Himself to be your Protector.

His heart and the principles for which it stands have been cast into the ranks of those who are over-burdening homes. He asks you to have courage and fight the battle manfully in your struggle to protect the roof which shelters your little ones.

Thus, those of you who have forgotten the prayers learned at your mother's knee. Those of you who have forgotten to follow Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life—to those of you I appeal in the name of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to pray for the dispossessed wanderer, to pray for the preservation of the homes of the American people.

God wills it!

Taxes must be paid. But homes must be preserved. Render to Cæsar the things that are his and to God the things that are God's.

With the Sacred Heart in your midst what fear have we of facing depression, of facing taxation, or of facing hidden foes who are barricaded behind the peaks of power and of prejudice?

"Come unto Me all ye who labor and are heavily burdened and I will refresh you, for I am the Way to victory; I am the lamp of Truth; and I am the Life of prosperity and of happiness beyond the grave."

For this, my friends, we give thanksgiving to God that He has not forsaken us. In turn we shall not forsake Him.

"What is Truth?"

A Reply to Dr. Clarence True Wilson

MORE than nineteen hundred years ago the most tragic trial in the annals of history was enacted in Pilate's hall.

Before Pontius Pilate, the Roman Emperor of the Jews, stands Jesus Christ, bound and fettered.

Surrounding Him are many witnesses suborned and purchased by Annas and Caiaphas, the high priests, who cared more to perpetuate themselves in power and to advocate the continuance of the policies of the pharisees than they did to obtain justice for the oppressed masses of the people.

Charge after charge is alleged against Christ. "*He stirreth up the people,*" so testifies one who had forgotten the miracle on the hillside where Christ had fed the populace and the many miracles throughout Palestine where He had cured the sick and had raised the dead to life.

"*He consorteth with sinners,*" so a second witness alleges in his false testimony. What cared this perjurer whether Christ had come to save the sinner; to protect the woman taken in adultery; or to hold out a promise as He will on the morrow to the good thief who was destined to expire at the side of the crucified Christ.

"*This Man is a wine bibber,*" so swears a third witness whose conscience is eased by the glitter of gold rather than by the truth of God.

Eventually, as if to summarize every charge, a sleek, pharisical, better-than-thou bigot arises; slinks to the witness stand; and in his shrill fanatic voice pronounces that most infamous sentence: "*He is a blasphemer! Away with Him! Away with Him!*"

Careless of facts, blinded by prejudice, his only argument against the Christ Who had come to perfect and not destroy is a lie that was conceived in a heart from which truth had been expelled and in which dwelt the black venom of hatred.

No wonder that Christ was silent! No wonder that He, the Infinite God of all wisdom, bows His head before this onslaught of calumny. Surely, He must have realized how futile it was to defend truth before a judge and a jury, as it were, who were devoted to falsehood.

At length, Pilate speaks. He addresses the Word-Made-Flesh!

"*What is truth?*" questions Pilate.

Not one syllable comes from Christ's sacred lips. Already that question has been answered by those who had rejected facts and in their place had wedded prejudices. Already it had been defined by the witnesses some of whom were garbed in sacerdotal vestments as they confronted Christ with the charges of 'wine bibber' and 'blasphemer.'

My friends, truth has never contradicted fact. Truth has never refused to stand by the facts which it has generated. Truth has never walked hand in hand with prejudice. Truth has never betrayed liberty; has never advocated murder; has never multiplied crime; has never waged insidious war against the youth of the land. The truth sets us free from such social evils. In themselves these are ungodly; for God is truth and love and righteousness!

II.

My friends, there are times within the span of our own lives when we seek as did Pilate the definition of truth.

Thus, today I am constrained to seek out a truth which has become clouded in the maze of charges and counter charges, affirmations and denials made in a subversive attempt to silence my voice on this 'Golden Hour.'

The occasion has arisen chiefly due to a pronouncement which was made over this microphone on Sunday, November Eighth. On that day I quoted the following statement which was attributed to the Reverend Doctor Clarence True Wilson, D.D., LL.D., General Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The quotation reads as follows:

> *"Legion conventions are planned ahead of time as drunken orgies in defiance of the laws which the men as soldiers, had taken an oath of allegiance to support . . . The ex-soldier who will do that—and practically all of them did it in Detroit*

—is a perjured scoundrel who ought not to represent the decency of the flag under which he fought."

The above words are substantially a portion of an interview which Doctor Clarence True Wilson gave to the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' last September and which he has not denied nor caused to be retracted in these same columns. They are words which elsewhere the Reverend Doctor repudiates in their entirety and thereby intimates that I have become a cooperative calumniator.

In fairness to Doctor Clarence True Wilson and to myself; to the American public and to the managements of the radio stations who must be greatly perturbed on having received notification from the Reverend gentleman that the discourse on 'Perjured Scoundrels' was the equivalent to a lie, may I review the case based only on facts and records which are unassailable.

III.

On November Eighth when we anticipated the national feast of Armistice both my heart and your heart were filled with emotions of gratitude and of praise for those of our fellow citizens who had risked all in obedience to their nation's call. Some of them are dead.

"In foreign fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark their places."

Gone are their smiles. Gone is the clasp of their friendly hand. Gone is the laughter from their manly lips.

Of course I took occasion to defend those whose lips are silent as well as those, their brothers in arms, who are still with us from an alleged attack made upon them either directly or indirectly by one who upheld the policies of prohibition at such an unchristian price. Of course I heard the echoes of the soldiers' voices saying to me:

"Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

Now, after one month has elapsed a veritable storm of protest has been stirred by Doctor Clarence True Wilson and those who, ignorant of the facts, have courageously rushed to his defense.

What are the charges made by Doctor Wilson in his protest?

More important than anything else he maintains over his signature that these statements attributed to him *"are false in their entirety."*

Secondly, in this same letter addressed to the radio stations Doctor Wilson makes the unvarnished statement that *"the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan, broadcast a sermon in which he without verification or attempt at verification . . . quoted the Reverend Clarence True Wilson"* as having made the statements to which I referred above and which, he adds later, *"are false in their entirety."*

Thus, according to these two charges I did not attempt to verify the statements employed on November Eighth. Moreover, the statements attributed to Doctor Wilson, according to him, *"are false in their entirety."*

This is a most serious condition. It either reflects upon the veracity of the chief proponent of prohibition or else it stigmatizes me a prevaricator. Either Doctor Wilson must be exonerated and I shall cease broadcasting forevermore, or the falsity of his two substantial charges must be established.

Doctor Wilson is a most representative man. He stands gloriously and regally in the first ranks of those advocating a continuance of prohibition. To millions of followers his word is golden. Upon him has fallen the purple mantle from the shoulders of the late Wayne B. Wheeler. In his keen mind there is resident all the noble traditions of prohibition. Such a national figure and of such tremendous influence is Doctor Wilson that when he formally and officially speaks on the subject of prohibition it is, as it were, that Cæsar had spoken. To him the nation lends attentive ears.

Thus, when Doctor Wilson informs the many radio stations over which I broadcast that the discourse entitled 'Perjured Scoundrels' was pronounced *by me without my having even attempted to verify* the quotations attributed to him; and when, finally, he repudiates these statements as *'false in their entirety,'* a most serious situation has arisen for me. I find myself standing upon the brink of annihilation.

Before venturing to offer my side of the issue, namely, whether or not I attempted to verify the quotations and whether or not the Reverend Doctor Wilson is absolutely correct when he says that the 'perjured scoundrel' and other quotations *'are false in their entirety,'* may I submit this prelude:

It is fortunate that both Doctor Wilson and I are more or less public personages. It is unfortunate that we profess different faiths. This, however, has no part to play in a gentlemanly discussion between prohibitionists and those who are opposed to it. May I emphasize the fact that in no manner must this be misconstrued as a religious issue. It is confined to the moral problem of prohibition.

And secondly, in the spirit of American fair play and sportsmanship may I inform the audience that both on December 3rd and again on December 9th I offered to Doctor Wilson the facilities of this microphone to permit him to state his side of the question. Without having done this, I should prefer to have been branded as a prevaricator.

IV.

And now for the case:

Bear in mind that neither denials nor affirmations mean much unless they can be substantiated by fact and proof.

Thus, first of all, to disprove the assertion made by Doctor Clarence True Wilson that I made no attempt at verification of what was uttered on Sunday, November 8th, may I read for you a telegram which I dispatched on November 7th to the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' in which paper the story of the 'Perjured Scoundrels' originated:

> *"Please wire my expense following information for use in national broadcast. First, did your paper carry story concerning Clarence True Wilson in which he called American Legionnaires perjured scoundrels? Second, is it OK to quote your paper? Third, wire summary of Wilson's statements immediately.*
>
> (*Signed*): *Charles E. Coughlin."*

The answer which the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' returned to this query is in the form of a telegram received from them on November 7th. It reads in part as follows:

"Clarence True Wilson was interviewed in Kansas City by a reporter for the 'Journal-Post' following a speech the night before in St. Joseph, Mo., in which he was quoted as attacking the American Legion. Dr. Wilson arrived in Kansas City the morning of September 25th and was met at the station by the 'Journal-Post' man. He was quoted at length in the 'Journal-Post' and among other statements credited to him were the following: 'The American Legion has disgraced the American uniform every time it has met in convention. The scene in Detroit was a premeditated and arranged drunken orgy, planned months in advance by the management of the Legion. The management of the Legion is wet and it made elaborate plans for drinking at the convention.

" 'If proof of that charge is lacking, the fact that they established a Canadian headquarters in a government liquor store in Windsor should be evidence enough.

" 'I was in Detroit Thursday night and Friday and Saturday of last week (the week before the convention)—and Windsor too—and I saw drunks reeling in and out of hotels, on the street corners and in public places. Some had women with them and all were shouting, 'Wait till we get through with prohibition. . . .

" 'The conspiracy to drive out prohibition is the work of moral cowards,' he continued. *'Those who are supporting them are moral cut throats of the basest character.'*

" 'The only thing in either story that can be construed as a statement that he considered American Legionnaires 'perjured scoundrels' is the following which appeared in the story of September 25th:

" 'Any man who takes the oath to defend the Constitution and then flaunts it openly is a perjurer and scoundrel who disgraces himself and his uniform.'

"To date Dr. Wilson has never denied the 'Journal-Post

that he made any of the statements credited to him and has never asked for any correction or retraction.

(Signed) 'Kansas City Journal-Post'."

Bear in mind, these telegrams passed between myself and the Kansas City Journal Post' on November 7th, the day before the discourse of 'Perjured Scoundrels.' They are on record at the Western Union Offices.

Thus, my friends, when Doctor Wilson categorically states to the radio stations that I made no attempt at verification of the quotation which I attributed to him he is making charges not only without foundation but contrary to truth and fact.

V.

The second serious charge made by the Reverend Doctor in his form letter to the radio stations reads as follows:

"The statements attributed to Doctor Wilson are false in their entirety."

Well, it so happens that the office of Doctor Clarence True Wilson released a statement called the 'Clipsheet.' This is official information which the Reverend Doctor sends to many of the newspapers of the nation. It was intended to be released November 1st. In this document the Reverend Doctor states:

"I have said that an officer who holds up his hand to God and swears to protect, defend and uphold the Constitution and Laws of our land, and then patronizes bootleggers, perjures himself and is an unworthy representative of a free Christian government."

This is what the Reverend General Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, openly and officially admits as having said. It is his version. He uses the words "perjures himself."

The case rests with the American public, therefore, to judge whether or not the statements attributed to him by the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' and which I employed on November 8th *"are false in their entirety."* But this is only incidental. It is only the beginning of the case.

Of more importance is the following:

In the letter of *November 20th which Doctor Wilson* addressed to radio stations over which I broadcast, *he states*:

"The comment he, (Doctor Wilson) actually made upon

> *the American Legion Convention held at Detroit was carried by the Associated Press correctly and was available to Father Coughlin."*

Therefore, let us look through the files of the Associated Press for September 24th to obtain according to Doctor Wilson his correct statement.

The news item dated by the Associated Press for September 24th at St. Joseph, Missouri, reports Doctor Wilson as having said:

> *"The Legion has again taken the wet side. I am not surprised. If you have seen the outfit that gathered in Detroit as I did, you would be surprised that 394 men could be found who would stand up for the Constitution and decency and sobriety. Where did they get them? . . . . .*
>
> *"There was a marked absence of the sober, well behaved typical American. The other crowd is in power. That is why the headquarters over in Windsor was placed in the government liquor store. That is why such members of staggering drunks disgraced the uniform and yelled for beer."*

"Staggering drunks disgraced the uniform!" To my mind this last paragraph is a more insidious attack upon the ex-soldier of America than I dared dream of hearing. It is contained in the Associated Press article which appeared on September 25th in the 'Kansas City Times' *and which Doctor Wilson over his own signature of November 20th says was carried correctly.*

Not only are we in possession of Doctor Wilson's letter to various radio stations. Not only are we advised by him as late as November 20th that the Associated Press Dispatch from St. Joseph, Missouri, is correct in its quotations. We also have the equally official document called the 'Clipsheet' which the Reverend Clarence True Wilson released to newspapers throughout the nation on the date of November 1st for them to copy if they pleased.

As a matter of fact this news report was widely copied especially by the newsmagazine named the 'Christian Advocate.'

The letter, the Associated Press Dispatch and this 'Clipsheet' release all come authoritatively from Doctor Wilson; all have been recognized as official by him at different dates.

Now, a comparison of these documents shows that they differ widely relative to his statements about the ex-soldier. In the 'Clipsheet' which includes the sentence written by Doctor Wilson: *"This is what I have said and nothing but this,"* no mention is made whatsoever of the *"staggering drunks who disgraced the uniform at Detroit"*—a statement which the Reverend Doctor confesses to be correct nineteen days later!

Thus, we are puzzled when we read this sentence in the 'Clipsheet.'

On November first there were no "staggering drunks who disgraced the uniform." But after nineteen days of meditation, Doctor Wilson agreed that the Associated Press Dispatch that carried this quotation from St. Joseph, Missouri, was correct.

Certainly there is something radically amiss. But, then, even Homer sometimes nods.

It seems, therefore, that both Doctor Wilson and the 'Christian Advocate' had better repudiate the so-called official statement of the 'Clipsheet' which evidently has been corrected nineteen days later over the signature of the Reverend Clarence True Wilson.

VI.

When there is so much necessary but gentlemanly discussion over the moral issue of prohibition, those of us whose privilege it is to reach millions of readers or listeners are necessarily on the tongues of the public.

Unfortunately it oftentimes occurs that what we uphold or oppose rises or falls with us.

Thus, reverting to the discourse of November 8th entitled 'Perjured Scoundrels' may I respectfully submit that contrary to the erroneous charge of the prohibitionists I did attempt to verify the veracity of the quotations used by sifting the story at the place where it originated.

Let me unfold for you the history of its origin:

After having communicated with the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' on November 7th which was the day previous to my giving publicity to the 'perjured scoundrel' utterance, its truthfulness was challenged. Doctor Wilson openly repudiated it and repudiated every other word that I attributed to him when he says in his letter to the radio stations these statements "*are false in their entirety.*"

Thus, not only was the dignity of the press being called into question. The major issue of prohibition itself was being assailed, as well as my personal probity.

I feared that perhaps the news reporter of the Kansas City paper had made an error in his first telegram. I feared that he had no witness to the statements accredited to Doctor Wilson. Thus, I communicated with that news journal to discover what proof they had for the 'perjured scoundrel' statement.

In response I was the recipient of the following telegram which allayed all my fears. It read as follows:

> "*Kansas City, Mo., November 28, 1931.*"
>
> "*I have been instructed by Dick Smith, Managing Editor of the 'Journal-Post', to reply to your wire regarding denials by Dr. Clarence True Wilson of statements he made to myself and to T. C. Cluck, of the United Press, when interviewed here the morning of September 25th. Namely, that any man who took an oath to defend the Constitution and then flaunted the Constitution openly was a perjurer and a scoundrel who disgraced himself and his uniform. The good Doctor most assuredly said just that and more. Everything he was quoted as saying he said. And he said it forcibly and without prompting—almost as though he were quoting from a prepared speech. There was no mistaking either his words or the sense of them. I checked with Mr. Cluck as to the accuracy of the interview. He is willing to take an oath, as I am also, that the statements were made.*
>
> (*Signed*) *Gilbert Smith.*"

And so the case stands. I have been accused of not attempting to make verification of the remarks employed. I have been informed that the statements "*are false in their entirety.*" And yet official documents begin to disclose an altogether different story. According to these witnesses the words 'perjurer' and 'scoundrel' were most certainly employed by the Reverend gentleman.

Yet, in all fairness to Doctor Wilson I am sorry that he could not avail himself of my invitation to appear here before this microphone and read his own statement *in defense of what he thought he said.*

In conclusion, as to the actual quotations which I employed in the discourse on 'Perjured Scoundrels' I did not find them in the 'Clipsheet' released November 1st by Doctor Clarence True Wilson. I did secure them, however, from the 'Kansas City Journal-Post' who have reputable witnesses ready to swear before God as to the truthfulness of these statements. Moreover, there are affidavits from these reporters who interviewed Doctor Wilson when he arrived in Kansas City, September 25th, and who covered a speech made by him in Kansas City the night of September 26th as to the exact words incorporated in the subject of this discussion.

It is regrettable that distinguished leaders must stumble into such mental lapses when defending an ignoble experiment. And it is more regrettable that when they have discovered the mistakes they have made in assailing the American Legion they are unwilling to stand back of their careless condemnations no matter what may be the price. Unless a policy is founded upon honesty; unless its walls are constructed with the solid stones of unassailable truth, neither God nor man can prevent its early destruction. Truth will always out and so will falsehood.

Thus, in a spirit of fairness and as a lover of truth at all costs I am constrained by the law of self-preservation to present these facts to the American public.

This is done on my part fully aware of any consequences which may follow. These, however, I do not fear.

I reiterate what was said before these discussions on prohibition. I am not relying upon the protection of the American Bar Association; not hiding behind the uniforms of the American Legion; not dependent upon the power and influence of the American Medical Association or the American Federation of Labor, all of whom have gone on record as being heartily opposed to the hypocrisy of prohibition.

Rather I am shielded by truth and truth alone which cannot be assailed successfully by weak letters of protest or by vacillating denials all of which have refused to face the official government facts which prove that our jails are filled to overflowing, that every home is made into a possible saloon; that the State of

Michigan has leagued itself with the bootleggers in placing a tax upon wort; that the Federal Government has belittled itself by loaning money for the manufacture of wines productive of twenty per cent alcohol; that our taxes have been increased abnormally under a false promise of prosperity; that blind pigs have supplanted the saloons by the thousands; and that hypocrisy runs rampant over the nation thanks to the efforts of a handful of gentlemen who would have us believe that their prohibition was founded upon the Christian Bible whereas, as a matter of fact, its origin is traceable to Mohammed and Mannes and to none others.

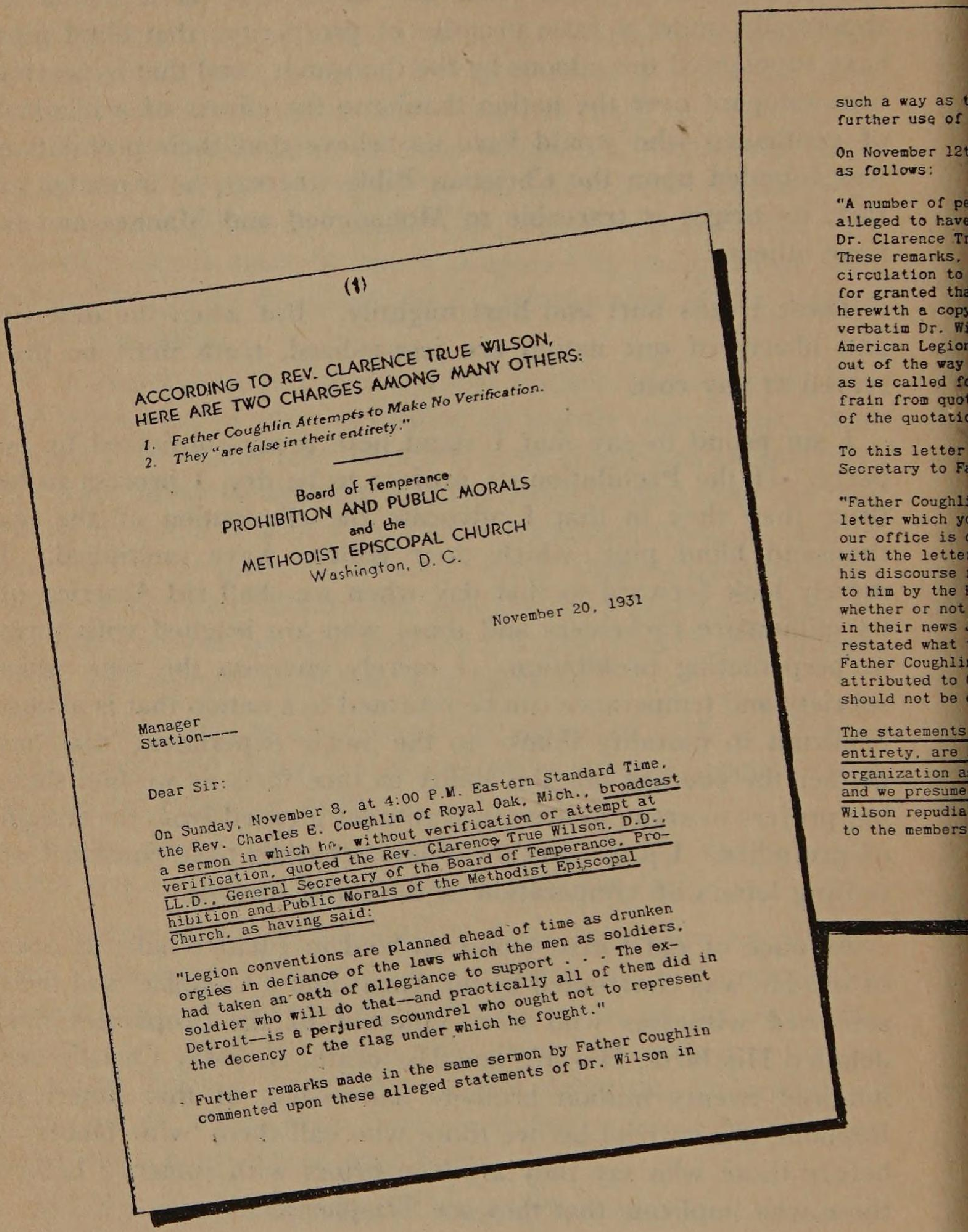
These truths hurt and hurt mightily. But when the decency and liberty of our nation are jeopardized, truth must be preserved at any cost.

I am proud to say that I stand here today subsidized by no party. If the Prohibitionists profess to be dry, I profess to be drier than they in that I advocate the elimination of the ten thousand blind pigs, which their policies have multiplied. I merely look forward to that day when we shall rid America of its millionaire racketeers and those who are leagued with them in perpetuating prohibition. I merely envision the time when sobriety and temperance can be returned to a nation that is almost bankrupt in morality thanks to the 'noble experiment' that has neither the courage nor the ability to face facts as we find them but prefers to argue in literary platitudes gleaned from the trough of prejudice. Up to date, their only rebuttals have consisted of writing letters of vituperation to the radio stations.

As once of old Christ stood on trial in Pilate's hall; as once of old He was confronted by an Annas and a Caiaphas and their suborned witnesses who were ignorant of the prophecies that detailed His birth, His life and His death, so today Christ's one hundred twenty million brothers and sisters of this American Republic are on trial before those who call them 'wine bibbers'; before those who say they are 'consortors with sinners'; before those who implicate that they are 'blasphemers.'

"And what is truth?" questioned Pilate of old.

Have we not the manliness to admit that truth is found wedded to fact and not to fancy? Have we not the courage to admit that



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ACCORDING TO REV. CLARENCE TRUE WILSON, HERE ARE TWO CHARGES AMONG MANY OTHERS:

1. *Father Coughlin Attempts to Make No Verification.*
2. *They "are false in their entirety."*

Board of Temperance
PROHIBITION AND PUBLIC MORALS
and the
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Washington, D. C.

November 20, 1931

Manager
Station----

Dear Sir:

On Sunday, November 8, at 4:00 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich., broadcast a sermon in which he, without verification or attempt at verification, quoted the Rev. Clarence True Wilson, D.D., LL.D., General Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as having said:

"Legion conventions are planned ahead of time as drunken orgies in defiance of the laws which the men as soldiers had taken an oath of allegiance to support . . . The ex-soldier who will do that—and practically all of them did in Detroit—is a perjured scoundrel who ought not to represent the decency of the flag under which he fought."

Further remarks made in the same sermon by Father Coughlin commented upon these alleged statements of Dr. Wilson in

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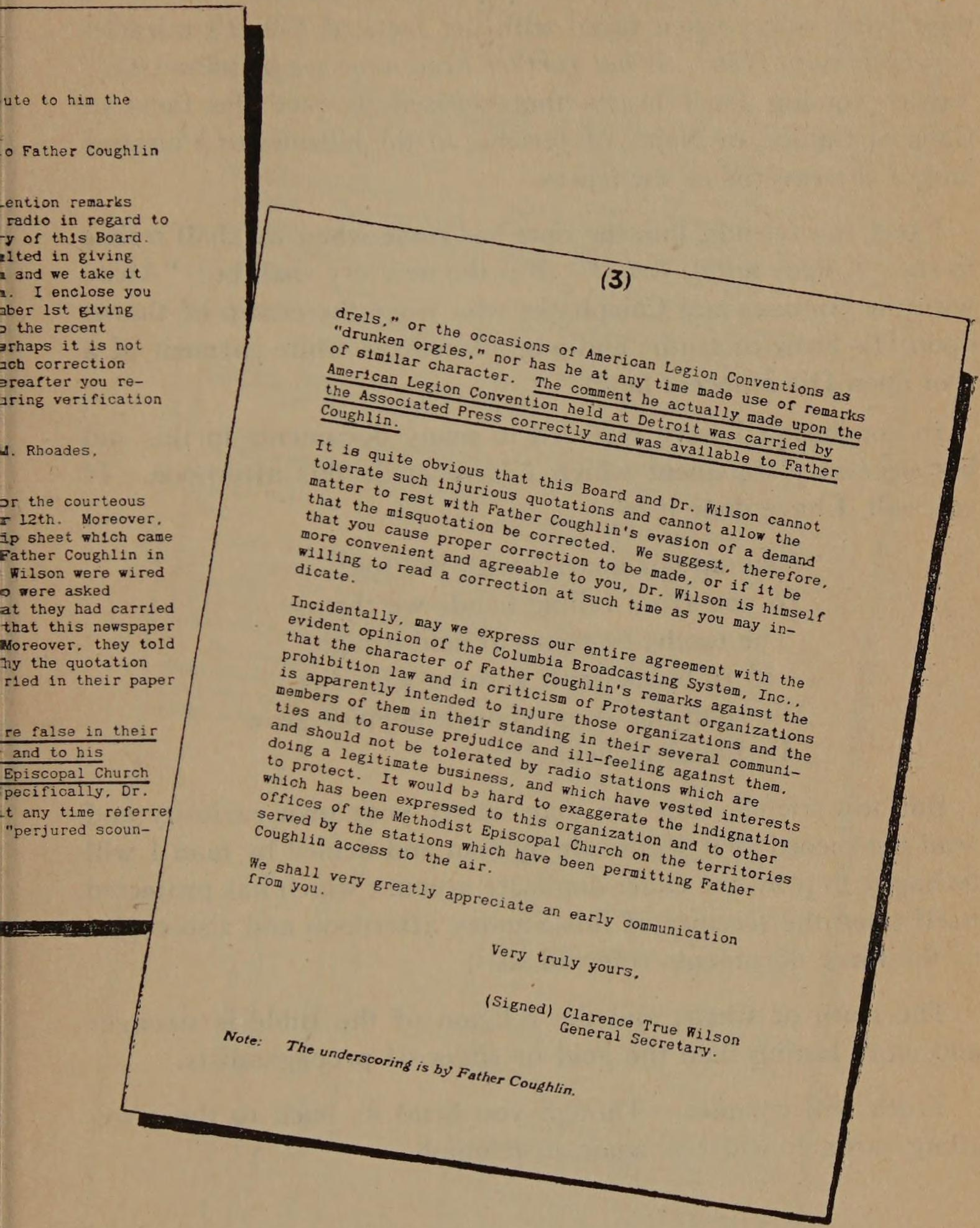

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drels," or the occasions of American Legion Conventions as "drunken orgies," nor has he at any time made use of remarks of similar character. The comment he actually made upon the American Legion Convention held at Detroit was carried by the Associated Press correctly and was available to Father Coughlin.

It is quite obvious that this Board and Dr. Wilson cannot tolerate such injurious quotations and cannot allow the matter to rest with Father Coughlin's evasion of a demand that the misquotation be corrected. We suggest, therefore, that you cause proper correction to be made, or if it be more convenient and agreeable to you, Dr. Wilson is himself willing to read a correction at such time as you may indicate.

Incidentally, may we express our entire agreement with the evident opinion of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., that the character of Father Coughlin's remarks against the prohibition law and in criticism of Protestant organizations is apparently intended to injure those organizations and the members of them in their standing in their several communities and to arouse prejudice and ill-feeling against them, and should not be tolerated by radio stations which are doing a legitimate business, and which have vested interests to protect. It would be hard to exaggerate the indignation which has been expressed to this organization and to other offices of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the territories served by the stations which have been permitting Father Coughlin access to the air.

We shall very greatly appreciate an early communication from you.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Clarence True Wilson
General Secretary.

Note: The underscoring is by Father Coughlin.

thirteen years ago we stumbled into the false philosophy of a system that militates against our sobriety and our liberty and our national truthfulness?

And shall we perpetuate the cry of those of old who raised their lying voices when faced with the facts of Christ's miracles —"*Away with Him! What further need have we of witnesses?*" Voices coming from hearts that refused to face the facts of Cana of Galilee, of Naim, of Jericho, of the hillsides of Palestine and of the caverns of the lepers.

I feel, my friends, that the time has come when we shall refuse to say: *"Away with Christ!"* But the new cry shall be: "Away with the Annases and Caiaphases who wove the crown of thorns upon His brow of truth; and who placed the white garment of a fool upon His innocent heart."

In conclusion I have referred to many documents in this sad but necessary statement which I have made this afternoon. If you will, I have done it to—

"Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

But, my friends, that you may satisfy your own curiosity and read the record as it was made by man and denied by man I will be happy to print the exact duplicate account which has projected itself upon the serenity of this Sunday afternoon and also copies of the three documents referred to.

The truth of Christ and the religion of the Bible is stronger and more lasting than the gold or silver of propagandists.

Truth will conquer. Though you bend its back to the grovelling earth, it will rise again in triumph.

The Associated Press Article Written Sept. 24th and on Nov. 20 in a letter to the Radio Stations, Dr. Wilson admits to be correct.

THERE WERE NO "STAGGERING DRUNKS" NOV. 1ST., BUT NOW, THERE ARE NOV. 20TH.

DR. WILSON HITS LEGION

"STAGGERING DRUNKS" WHO "YELL FOR BEER," HE SAYS

The Better Citizens No Longer Attend Conventions, Dry Leader Asserts—Surprised Vote Wasn't Unanimous.

(By the Associated Press)

St. Joseph, Mo., Sept. 24—Dr. Clarence True Wilson, Methodist dry leader, attacked the action of the American Legion in voting for a prohibition referendum in a statement tonight asserting that at the Detroit convention "numbers of staggering drunks disgraced the uniform and yelled for beer." The statement of the general secretary of the board of temperance, prohibition and public morals of the Methodist Episcopal church, who was in St. Joseph for a church conference, follows:

"The Legion has again taken the wet side. I am not surprised. If you have seen the outfit that gathered in Detroit as I did, you would be surprised that 394 men (the number of delegates who voted against the referendum resolution) could be found who would stand up for the Constitution and decency and sobriety. Where did they get them?

"When these men were being trained for overseas it was as sober soldiers in dry cantonments. America tried to make total abstainers of everyone. They went across to France the cleanest army that ever assembled on any field. A million maintained their American ideals even in French cities.

"But some dropped down to another level. This is the crowd that seeks to dominate the Legion and our civilization. The wet propaganda for which the Legion has been used has so alienated thousands that they no longer attend the conventions.

"There was a marked absence of the sober, well behaved typical American. The other crowd is in power. That is why the headquarters over in Windsor was placed in the government liquor store. That is why such numbers of staggering drunks disgraced the uniform and yelled for beer.

"There is not the slighest chance in the world for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States for the next 100 years."

(This same story was printed in the Kansas City Times the morning of September 25th.)

DETROIT PRAISE FOR LEGION

Copyright, 1931, by the North American Newspaper Alliance (The Kansas City Star and other newspapers.)

Detroit, Sept. 24—Managers of Detroit's big downtown hotels have nothing but praise for the Legionnaires' behavior in their stay in Detroit.

"There was noise—plenty of it," one manager admitted. "There was plenty of fun for everyone. We would have been disappointed had it been any other way.

"But despite all the fun there was scarcely any property damage to speak of in the entire time the boys were here."

Nov. 1, 1931: "I have never in a single word attacked the Legion."

Nov. 20, 1931: "The Associated Press Dispatch 'was carried correctly.'" Of course it is not an "attack."
It is merely an Eulogy.

Dr Wilson changed his mind since November 1st.
There are now "staggering drunks" He admitted this November 20th.

"This is What I Have Said and Nothing But This."

TO THE EDITOR: This Clipsheet is issued by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 100 Maryland Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C. Unless reported as formal Board action, expressions of opinion are by the Secretaries.

It makes no pretense to be other than what it obviously is. We wish to serve you with the argument and the news of the temperance reform. Any reproduction of this material in your columns will be appreciated and its use is free with or without credit. But more important to us, by far, is the opportunity to APPEAL TO YOU PERSONALLY as an influential citizen and an editor, in order that you may have a well-informed understanding of this movement as a foundation for intelligent comment.

CLARENCE TRUE WILSON, LL. D.,
General Secretary.

DEETS PICKETT,
Research Secretary.

Released for Use of Morning Papers, Nov. 1, 1931

DR. WILSON AND THE AMERICAN LEGION

(The following is a copy of a letter addressed by Dr. Wilson to a Western newspaper.)

As your paper has had several references to a supposed attack on the American Legion by me, and as I have never in a single word attacked the Legion, will you permit me the privilege of reporting exactly what I have said, in order that your people may compare the very careful statement I have issued with a very garrulous report that reached many millions of American readers. The following is an exact quotation as published by the only papers that took pains to find out what was said:

"There are a million men who went across to France from dry cantonments where they had been taught to let liquor alone, and that they were going to Europe as the representatives of American civilization. They went over and did their part bravely and well, and came back as clean in mind and body, as firm and loyal to the American standards of the United States, and as fit to be decent

this church would require quiet, and asked if the loud speaker could not be placed on one of the other corners of that great square so that the Conference could go on with its session. The request was refused, and the annual Conference, representing half the Methodists of the state, had to move its Sunday sessions to Dr. Rice's church out in the residence section of the city. No other conventions in this country so conduct their fun on Sundays as to close the churches of the neighborhood.

But let me say again, this does not represent the rank and file of the American Legion, patriotic, sober, decent citizens. Many protest against the exceptional rowdy who hangs on the skirts of these conventions and misrepresents the moral sentiment of the ex-soldiers and of the vast membership of the American Legion. As to their voting wet, I have only to say that if that is their sentiment, they have as much right to vote wet as I have to vote dry;

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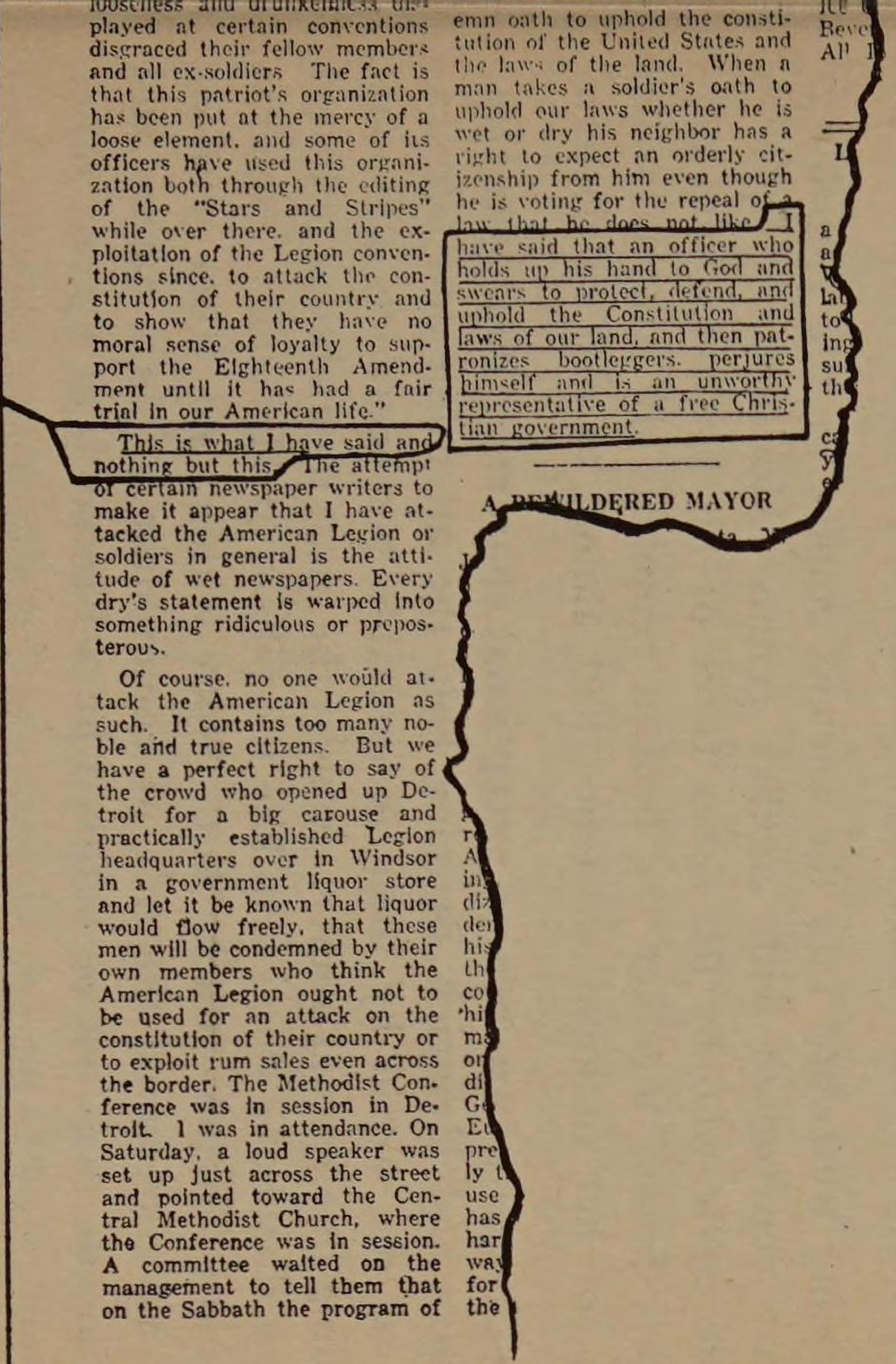
A GLASS OF BEER IN TENNIS

One glass of beer suffices to induce sleep on the tennis court. If the player does not w a stroke or two

HOW MUCH LIQUOR WE CONSUMING?

1. So says Dr. Wilson on Nov. 1 But, read what he says on Nov. 20 in his letter to the radio stations refering to the Associated Press Dispatch.

2. Incorporated in the "reply" of Father Coughlin to Dr. Wilson, he proves by telegrams that he did "attempt to verify" the quotations employed.



looseness and drunkenness displayed at certain conventions disgraced their fellow members and all ex-soldiers The fact is that this patriot's organization has been put at the mercy of a loose element. and some of its officers have used this organization both through the editing of the "Stars and Stripes" while over there. and the exploitation of the Legion conventions since. to attack the constitution of their country and to show that they have no moral sense of loyalty to support the Eighteenth Amendment until it has had a fair trial in our American life."

This is what I have said and nothing but this. The attempt of certain newspaper writers to make it appear that I have attacked the American Legion or soldiers in general is the attitude of wet newspapers. Every dry's statement is warped into something ridiculous or preposterous.

Of course. no one would attack the American Legion as such. It contains too many noble and true citizens. But we have a perfect right to say of the crowd who opened up Detroit for a big carouse and practically established Legion headquarters over in Windsor in a government liquor store and let it be known that liquor would flow freely. that these men will be condemned by their own members who think the American Legion ought not to be used for an attack on the constitution of their country or to exploit rum sales even across the border. The Methodist Conference was in session in Detroit. I was in attendance. On Saturday. a loud speaker was set up just across the street and pointed toward the Central Methodist Church, where the Conference was in session. A committee waited on the management to tell them that on the Sabbath the program of

emn oath to uphold the constitution of the United States and the laws of the land. When a man takes a soldier's oath to uphold our laws whether he is wet or dry his neighbor has a right to expect an orderly citizenship from him even though he is voting for the repeal of a law that he does not like. I have said that an officer who holds up his hand to God and swears to protect, defend, and uphold the Constitution and laws of our land, and then patronizes bootleggers. perjures himself and is an unworthy representative of a free Christian government.

A BEWILDERED MAYOR

But, it is interesting to read the account of his September statements as published by the Associated Press and of which the Reverend Doctor Wilson says "was carried . . . . correctly." Check up his statement with the Kansas City Journal - Post telegrams, and then apply your own definition to the word "attack."

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4. In the letter to the radio stations, it is intimated that Father Coughlin "intended to injure" Protestant organizations and "to arouse prejudice and ill-feeling against them."

Did Dr. Wilson try to make this a religious conflict? Were his assertions based on Truth?

The vast majority of Protestants resent this childish attitude of the Reverend Doctor and repudiate his insinuations.

By his strange handling of truth and facts he has succeeded in "stirring up ill-feeling", against himself. And has done more injury to the cause of Prohibition by alienating the good will of the American Legion than he and his associates dare suspect.

The Way Out

Leaders

THIS afternoon, my friends, may I narrate for you a story which is woven around the name of a remarkable leader of men. In one sense, it is the story of a failure. But in this case, the failure is not attributable so much to the leader as it is to the followers.

The man of whom I am going to speak is not only a remarkable leader. He is the outstanding leader of all centuries. Paradoxical as it may appear, his leadership was a failure. It brought those who followed him into a veritable desert of distress. It scourged them. It opposed them for practically forty years. And eventually, death came to rob this genius of the realization of his ambition.

Postponing this story for a moment, may I passingly refer to several other leaders who have become conspicuous in the march of world events.

In Turkey, which has been notorious for its lack of progressiveness, an outstanding patriot by the name of Kemal Pasha suddenly appeared upon the horizon. Within the short span of ten years this remarkable leader succeeded in modernizing and preserving a nation which stood on the very brink of extinction.

Coming westward into the ancient empire of the Hapsburgs we are confronted with another genius—Monsignor Seiple—a simple cleric who by the sheer force of his brilliance and personality bound together the broken remnants of Austria when hope for her national existence had almost turned to despair.

In Germany two men of exceptional character, Paul von Hindenburg and Heinrich Brüning hold the attention and admiration of the world by their indomitable perseverance and outstanding intellectual ability. Amidst the most momentous political storms they have stood firm like the pillars of Hercules. Against the most sinister attacks both from within and from without they have stemmed the tide of communism. Their names and their deeds shall not be outlived by a Bismarck or by any other German.

In France a gentleman by the name of Pierre Laval has quickly risen from obscurity to the peaks of preeminence. He is the French superman. His policies have filled the vaults of his country with fabulous wealth. He is to France what Mussolini and his energetic leadership are to Italy.

England stumbled through her experiments with the Labor Party. When dissolution threatened the empire, the nation paused; searched about for her most dependable leaders. Finally she assembled the master minds of the British Isles into a coalition government. Never before in the history of England have so many distinguished diplomats sat together for the single harmonious purpose of preserving the greatest empire of modern times.

In our own United States a parallel case exists. Baffled by the problems which surrounded him, our President reached beyond the circle of his political cabinet and called upon Mr. Gifford, the President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and Mr. Owen D. Young of the General Electric Corporation, to come to his assistance. Many other leaders of thought, finance and of industry associated themselves with these gentlemen whose names are to business, banking and organization what the name of Thomas Alva Edison is to science.

Before drawing a conclusion from these seemingly irrelevant facts, may I come to the story of that other leader who lived in ancient times. Just as these gentlemen whose names I have mentioned are endowed with extraordinary gifts, so, too, was this, the greatest historical figure of antiquity. But despite his greatness he was destined as are our modern leaders to suffer bitter disappointment. Although he was a man whose privilege it was to converse face to face with God and upon whose head was placed the crown of miraculous power yet he was unable to lead his people from the land of desolation into the valley of prosperity.

I refer to that most outstanding Jew, Moses, by name.

Moses

This champion, Moses, was born of parents who, with thousands of their countrymen languished in the bondage of Egypt.

Because of their infidelity and sexual license Almighty God had permitted the Pharaohs to lead the entire Hebrew race into captivity. Like dumb oxen they were herded into the land of the Nile. Citizenship was denied them. There was no justice for them in the courts, no gain was permitted to them in the markets. Hewers of wood and drawers of water, their hands builded cities, erected pyramids and performed every menial task imposed upon them by their masters.

The years of their misery had succeeded in impressing upon them the graciousness of their God Whom as a nation they had forsaken. Thus, every brick which they molded, every stone which they set was accompanied by a prayer that they may be allowed to return to their fatherland.

Eventually Moses, who had escaped the lot of his fellow prisoners, grew to manhood in the court of the Pharaohs. Although he assimilated all the culture of Egypt and enjoyed the highest honor within the empire, yet he never forgot that he was a Jew nor did he ever turn his back upon his oppressed fellow countrymen.

Where could he find joy when he remembered the heartaches of his brothers and sisters?

What counted the wealth and opulence with which he was surrounded when he beheld his fellow Jews laboring like slaves in the wheatfields, like beasts of burden in the brickyards?

At last he was spurred to action by the intolerable conditions imposed upon his people. With all the eloquence of his soul upon his lips; with the miraculous power of God in his hands he demanded of Pharaoh that his people be released from bondage; that they be permitted to return to the land of their heritage and to the practices of the faith of their fathers.

I am interested at present merely in the fact that at length Pharaoh did release them. Six hundred thousand men along with the women and children crossed the Red Sea under the leadership of Moses and his brother Aaron. Egypt with its oppression was behind. Israel, the land of promise and prosperity, was before them.

But have you not heard that for a period of forty years these Jews were forced to wander aimlessly up and down the desert sands before they could enter the confines of Israel? At no time had they proceeded more than one hundred miles east of the Red Sea. At no time had they marched more than one hundred twenty miles on their journey northward toward the land of promise.

Think of it! Forty long years under the leadership of the greatest Jew of all history, this host of wanderers was lost within the narrow limits of a territory not as large as one half the State of New York.

Are you questioning why all this happened? Well, the answer is not to be traced to their leader's ignorance of the geography of the country. This was perfectly known at least by those who accompanied Moses. It is not to be attributed to their desire to live among barren rocks or upon the burning sands of a desert. In one sense the slavery of Egypt was preferable to the expectant miseries of such an existence. Egypt was golden with its wheatfields and kind with its cooling springs of limpid water. But the desert was white with its human skeletons and cruel with its parching thirst.

Moses knew this and the multitude who followed him were aware of it.

Some other reason, therefore, must explain these forty years of their wanderings through the desert.

If you wish to discover it behold the tragedy enacted within the shadows of Mount Sinai.

Not many months after their departure from Egypt the Jews forgot the God Who had rescued them from slavery.

One by one their ideals began to decay. Injustice multiplied amongst the tribes of Israel. The sins of adultery and lust were openly professed. And thus, while Moses was receiving the written law of God amidst the clouds of Mount Sinai, his followers in the valley organized in open rebellion and made for themselves a new god in the form of a calf of gold. Behold them kneeling before this speechless deity! Watch them rising up to desecrate their bodies with the extravagant sins of sexuality! Then ask yourselves why they were unable to find their way out of the wilderness into the land of promise.

Now, the indisputable fact is this: Despite the preeminence of the leadership which the Jews enjoyed, they were unable over a period of forty years to find their way out of a little desert, no more than one hundred miles wide and one hundred twenty miles long, chiefly because they had forsaken their God.

The Present

We are told that history repeats itself; that the events of tomorrow parallel the happenings of today.

Thus, my friends, cannot you see our present conditions mirrored in the pages of the past?

Need I tell you that despite the most remarkable leadership in the crown of modern civilization—a crown that is bejewelled with such names as Kemal Pasha, Mussolini, Laval, Brüning, Seiple, MacDonald, Gifford and Young, we are wandering in a wilderness of grief unable to find our way out of the desert of depression wherein we have been lost because the golden calf has become our god and because the sins of sexuality have been paraded as virtues?

The parallel is obvious. Even in the midst of their sins and their rebellion God blessed the Jews with cooling drink from the barren rocks of the desert. And from the low hung clouds He fed them with a miraculous food.

Meanwhile, we have been blessed with a superabundance of food even as were the Jews in the midst of their infidelity. Our granaries are heavy with grain, our trees laden with fruit.

If a cloud let down from heaven protected the Hebrew wanderers from the burning rays of a destructive sun, we too, have been blessed with kindly weather and spared from both plague and disease.

Neither for lack of gold nor for an absence of leadership nor for an abundance of physical supplies do we find ourselves wandering about in the desert of theory and inaction unable to find an exit into the promised land of prosperity. An element more fundamental is responsible for the world wide suffering which surrounds us.

Remember that the chosen people upon whose heads there had been showered ten thousand benedictions rebelled from their God and disavowed His ideals.

What has resulted in the United States of America? Like a chosen people of modern times we and our ancestors were led from the bondage of slavery into the land of liberty. Miraculously, almost, there were multiplied for us the fruits of the field and the blessings of civilization. But in the midst of our glowing prosperity we, as did the Jews of old, deserted the principles of the God Who was so generous to us. We set up the golden calf of our cruel financial system. We taught our children to identify poverty with failure. We made heroes of millionaires and adopted their policies of greed. Wealth was defined as an abundance of material possession. As in ancient times a stiff-necked people sacrificed their jewelry to fabricate a lifeless deity, so today, we sacrificed our ideals at the altar of a false prosperity.

Hypocritically, we condemn gambling in a poolroom but legalize it within the unholy precincts of the stock market.

At one time we will build institutions to care for the orphans and the aged but at all times we are determined to retain the principle that industry has no obligations to the workingman during periods of forced idleness and that the government has no right to force industrialists to adopt a policy of old age pensions.

With a gesture of mock morality we outlawed the corner saloon only to multiply it in thousands of blind pigs and in ten thousand homes, while the revenue from this illicit traffic has filled the pockets of dishonest politicians, corrupt public officials, job-seeking reformers and organized murderers.

In the name of governmental decency we prohibit lascivious pictures being granted the use of our mail. But in the name of the god of gold we permit the glorification of the American strumpet in a thousand theatres.

Then, in the name of art and of innocent recreation we applaud the abomination of indecent pictures and raise to the dignity of patron saints the divorcees of Hollywood and the prostitutes of the screen.

This is not surprising, however, because the ancient story of the golden calf went hand in glove with the glorification of illicit sexuality.

But it is unreasonable, however, in placing blame where it unjustly belongs. All these evils are not begotten by our leaders.

If the American people prefer to be hypocrites by gambling on the stock market, that is not necessarily the fault of their President. If they are willing to bear the cross of forced idleness upon their wearied souls, let them remember the policies which they have supported in past elections.

If the American parents prefer to permit their children to indulge vicariously in sex debasement through the unholy lips, the lascivious arms and the lewd caresses of commercialized adulteresses, all the blame is not attributable to the motion picture producers. The major portion of it, I fear, hangs heavy on the souls of parents who dare not speak in condemnation to their children of what they themselves profess.

During the past two weeks there was voiced the complaint that too much advertising finds expression in our radio programs. We have been informed that our people are protesting against this so-called nuisance. If one of our Senators had sufficient courage to protest against the advertising of commercialized lust, which is screened from coast to coast, a greater service would have been extended to the American public. The radio programs and the radio advertising are innocent as spotless lambs compared to the too frequent degeneracy of the American theatre.

At any rate, my friends, it is childish for us as a democratic people to attribute all the ills and heartaches of our present distress to the inefficient leadership of our superiors. In this nation leaders rise from the ranks. From the humblest township official to the dignified chair of the Presidency our civil authorities have been of our own election. The laws which they write upon our books reflect the spirit of the citizens. The abuses which are perpetuated, be they social or economic or religious, have originated in the minds of the people. If bankruptcy has overwhelmed many of our principal cities it is traceable to the bankruptcy not only in things financial but in things moral which have appeared in the lives of too many of us. It is not a question so much of lack of leadership which has befallen us. It is rather a question of followership which endangers us.

Thus, we have followed unjust and immoral principles and have forsaken the ideals of the past. New definitions have come to replace the old. License which knows no law has dethroned liberty which can only exist by obedience to law. Happiness has become identified with pleasure. Thriftiness has given place to spend-thriftiness. Love has been translated into lust. Modern charity has swept aside the concept of brotherliness. Prosperity has surrendered to avarice.

Recreation has been spelled with the letters of debauchery. Patriotism has given way to internationalism. The Ten Commandments have been eliminated from our practical lives, and in their stead we have too often elected to follow the leadership and espouse the policies of the golden calf whose empire is the great wilderness.

Meanwhile, we wander aimlessly in a vicious circle, lost in the desert of depression no larger than that which encompassed the Jews of old. It is a condition in which the good must suffer with the unjust; in which the innocent must perish with the guilty. That is the price of our democracy.

The Dole

Last Sunday I committed myself to a discussion of several questions which concerned our social well being. In the few minutes which remain at my disposal this afternoon, I am going to touch upon the subject: "Must Progress Be Identified with Poverty?"

We have heard it said so frequently that we are beginning to accept it as an axiom: "There must be no dole."

Of course, such blunt words were never used. This heresy has been always dressed up in the silks and jewelry of false appeal. "Americans are too wise and too proud to have a dole." "Remember England and the degradation into which she has fallen because of her dole." These and such other appealing statements have taught the American public that this thing called a dole must be as pernicious and destructive as another World War.

Before we either approve of or condemn a dole, it might be well to ask ourselves for a definition.

According to Senator Dill: *"The word 'dole' has been greatly misused during the past year, not because of any real misunderstanding of its meaning among those who studied the question, but because of the President's misuse of the word. Some months ago when we were then attempting to enact legislation here to help certain sufferers in this country, the President himself put his objections on the basis that such would be a 'dole'. From that hour until now every proposal of any kind to help the suffering people of America, if it were to come from the Federal Government in the form of a contribution, has been called a'dole'.*

"The real meaning of the word 'dole' by those who have understood it, has been the regular payment of stipends from the government to certain individuals among the people. The 'dole' in England does not consist of appropriations to provide for people who are suffering; the 'dole' in Germany does not provide appropriations of lump sums to take care of those who are in need; but the 'dole' in those countries has a definite meaning, namely, the payment of a certain amount at stated intervals to those who are living under certain conditions"—their need or distress, if any, not entering into the question whatsoever.

Such is Senator Dill's definition of a dole. Such is the English and German concept of it. Such an institution we do not want in the United States of America.

In this nation, however, we are dealing with a situation where both dire need and cruel distress are presenting an entirely different situation.

Therefore, do not identify the corporal works of mercy with a dole that originated amongst the wealthy aristocrats of pagan Rome who supplied bread and corn and bloody entertainment to pacify an oppressed people. A dole originated with paganism. It must not be identified either with Christian charity or with emergency relief despite the incorrect use of the word by those who should be better informed.

Real Facts

During the past three years every locality has been invited by the Federal Government to take care of its own distress. For three years a heroic effort has been made to follow out this advice.

At length we are beginning to find out how impossible it is to pursue such a policy any further. Many local agencies can no longer operate efficiently.

Do you question this last statement? May I tell you a story founded on fact? In the southern part of Oakland County, where the Shrine of the Little Flower is situated, our public officials discovered that there was an immediate need to supply milk to the under-nourished pre-school children. A conservative estimate demanded that fifteen thousand dollars must be raised immediately for this purpose. The Shrine of the Little Flower promptly donated one-half this total sum. Since last November until this present date the rest of the County has been struggling to raise their half. Up to date they have succeeded in collecting only thirty-five hundred dollars.

This is one case where local relief has fallen down.

Our Federal Government has been notorious for its charity toward foreigners. It has appropriated billions of dollars to sustain their industry. It has poured more billions of dollars into the armies and navies of Europe. It will grant unquestionable doles to the god of war. It will bestow gifts of loans to the god of the Bank of England. It will hasten to the rescue of the starving Armenians and the suffering Belgians. It will even descend so low as to appropriate money for pigs and cattle in the drouth stricken areas of Arkansas. But it will throw up its hands in unholy horror if it is asked in the face of an emergency to assist in feeding the citizenry of the United States who have been dispossessed of their jobs and dispossessed of their homes. And to escape performing this duty, it will hide behind a false and stupid definition of a dole. But at the same time the Government will extend real doles to banks, to railroads and to California wine producers!

We are told to avoid this dole as we would the plague.

More than that, we are told that relief ought to be a local matter. If such were true, why not let local authorities relieve local banks?

Well, is unemployment a local matter? No! It is a nation wide affair. The two hundred corporations which control forty-five per cent of our business wealth have turned workers out wholesale on a national scale. Is it due to local conditions that the coal mines of Pennsylvania, Illinois and Kentucky are unproductive or is it due to a national condition? Is it due to a local condition that the automobile factories of Detroit are more or less idle, or is it due to international financial conditions mostly generated by those who would profiteer on the blood bonds of a sick world? Accordingly, we are convinced that national conditions have created distress but are advised that local charity must care for the sins of national guilt.

City after city has gone to take its stand upon the precipice of bankruptcy.

Just last week when the City of New York was requesting some financial assistance from the great banks that boast of capital holdings well over a billion dollars each, it was greeted with the answer that there be an increase in carfare from five to ten cents to guarantee payment of the loan which was requested by the city. This extra five cents which within a year would amount to fifty million dollars, at least, would find its way, for the most part, back into the vaults of the bankers who control the stock of the New York transportation system. As usual, they wish to capitalize upon civic and human misery. When further pressed for the loan one of these same bankers, according to Senator Copeland, had the audacity to say: *"We owe no obligation to the City of New York."*

May we not wonder what would eventuate if New York and other cities should say to the bankers: *"We owe no obligation to protect your piles of granite and your piles of gold."*

This cold-hearted paganism reminds one of a selfish son, standing safe and secure upon a dock, who refuses to throw a life line to the drowning father who begot him.

Indeed the thousands—and I mean thousands—who take their place in the cold bread line here at the Shrine of the Little Flower and the millions who like them seek food and shelter elsewhere have neither lost their citizenship nor their pride. They are not seeking doles. But in this present situation they are seeking an assistance which we dare not deny them and which their local authorities in many cases are unable to supply.

In 1916 and during the course of the war hundreds of so-called "minute-men" were responsible for the sale of thirty billion dollars of "Liberty Bonds" for the purpose of buying bullets to destroy life. But in 1932 these same financial geniuses are afraid to venture upon the sale of five billion dollars of emergency bonds for the purpose of preserving life.

There is no need for this unintelligent poverty existing side by side with abnormal wealth, any more than there is to immortalize the greed and the avarice which stalk in our midst. In the City of New York alone there are three banks each with assets of over one billion five hundred million dollars. Never before in the history of this country have we had such great deposits in the vaults of our banks. And never before in the history of the United States have we had such tremendous poverty!

Still they persist in trying to identify a dole with a bond. Still they persist in saddling upon the backs of the middle class the responsibility of taking care of the poor.

In view of the fact that our Federal Government has always been ready to vote money and supplies to take care of those in need, especially if they are foreigners; in view of the fact that they never termed this contribution a dole, I wonder what ulterior motive prompts them in these days of distress to misuse the English language and to deceive the American public with a new definition for an ancient pagan word? Any kind of relief whatsoever be it from the sale of bonds or what not, now falls under the sneering epithet of dole.

I suppose by this same philosophy Almighty God Himself should be condemned for having showered down manna upon the wanderers in the desert when it was impossible for them to produce the necessities of life.

And so, my fellow citizens, we are actors upon the stage of life in one of the most unique tragedies which has ever been chronicled. Peerless leaders, abundance of foodstuffs, millions of virgin acres, banks loaded with money alongside of idle factories, long bread lines, millions of jobless and growing discontent.

Is our national intelligence so numbed that we cannot see the parallel existing between our own condition and that of the wandering Jews? The promised land was within a three days' march of those six hundred thousand men and women and children. The mightiest leader of all history was at their head. With us today the promised land of prosperity is within three months' march, if, like the Jews of old, each individual one of us will recognize the fact that the hand of God is upon us because we have worshipped the golden calf and have given ourselves over to the lust of life.

In 1916 millions of American boys willingly undertook the many privations which fall to the lot of a soldier. They became companions of mud and vermin for the purpose of winning a victory which has proven to be empty.

If we American citizens have one-tenth the patriotism which characterized those men, are we willing to adopt the privations of penance for the purpose of asking God to forgive us our sins both public and private?

Remember the story of Moses; of Mount Sinai; of the Ten Commandments. While he who delivered the Jews out of bondage was receiving the graven laws from the hand of God, his people turned from him. They gathered their earrings and golden bracelets and cast them into a molten furnace. Then they fashioned the god of the golden calf.

In later years there was another mountain. Its name was Calvary. There was a New Moses. His name was Jesus Christ. He, too, had delivered His people from the bondage of sin. The testament which He brought to the world was His body, blood, soul and divinity—sacrificed upon the cross. And we have been the chosen people of this new epoch. We, too, have thrown into the furnace of passion the jewels of our faith, our love, our prayerfulness, our purity. We, too, have molded a new god of gold and have rejected the leadership of the New Moses. As a result of it all, we are lost in the wilderness of depression—of depressed ideals, of depressed faith, as we are surrounded by mountains of sin and sandy wastes of selfishness.

I remember an incident which transpired at the marriage feast of Cana. The mother of Jesus Christ observed the embarrassment of her host. She approached her Son and said to Him: *"They have no wine."*

Perhaps, as she looks down from her throne in heaven upon us who are lost in doubt and indecision, she says to her Divine Boy: *"They have no solution."*

Oh, my friends, it is no more difficult for Him to change the water of our misery into the wine of joy and prosperity, if we are but courageous enough to beat into dust the god of gold and return to the worship of the God Who created us!

If you are patriotic, return to your God. Leave off your evil habits. Forego your sins. Kneel once again at the altar of Him Who will feed you with the Bread that if any man eat thereof, he shall not die forever. *"Your fathers did eat manna in the desert and are dead,"* sayeth Jesus Christ. *"But the Bread which I shall give you, if any man eat thereof, he shall not die forever."*

The return to God is the way out—the way out of the desert of depression—the way into the land of promise and of prosperity.

The Next War

WITHIN the next few weeks we are advised that the nations of the world will meet at Geneva, Switzerland, for the purpose of discussing disarmament.

Practically all sane men and women are hoping that this convention will be blessed with success. We are anxious that the likelihood of another war shall be lessened. We are anxious that this, the most heinous social evil which has disgraced the history of the human race, shall be eliminated, at least, in part.

Preparatory to the conference to be held at Geneva, may I offer a few suggestions this afternoon relative to the problem of disarmament and, consequently, relative to the moral problem of eliminating the curse of war.

Cause of War

The title which has been announced for this afternoon's discourse is neither cheerful nor optimistic. Of all the loathsome words which have been coined by man there is none which is so much associated with horror as the word which spells war. It conjures before our minds not only the gray spectre of Death who keeps unholy watch over ten thousand battlefields. It implies more than the destruction of countless homes and the annihilation of proud governments.

Take your stand upon the plains of Waterloo or upon the banks of the River Marne! From every acre of ground and from every rippling wave there strikes your ears the echo of an everlasting curse which rises from the corpses of victims—victims who were offered upon the altar of an injustice.

In panorama the pages of history are unfolded before you. Nations are founded. Empires rise and fall. The armies of one generation beat their ceaseless tramp upon the dust of the soldiers of yesterday. Everlastingly the Prince of Peace is crowned with thorns as He bears His cross of sorrow up the steeps of a Calvary of hatred. Everlastingly He is crucified anew between the thieves of greed and lust for power.

Barabbas and murder have been preferred to Christ and peace!

Such is the history of war. It is the voice of the past crying out to the children of tomorrow that man's temple of progress has not been built upon the cornerstone of Christ but has risen upon a pile of skulls and cross-bones which were sacrificed to the arguments spoken by the mouths of cannon and to the lies which dripped from the lips of sharp edged swords.

The Cost of War

And so I would speak to you of the next war. Of what foolishness do I dare to prophecy? Was it not taught both in pulpit and in press that the last war in which we participated was one whose purpose was to end all wars and to make the world safe for the common man? Are we forgetful of a funeral procession which slowly moved from the Capitol Building at Washington to Arlington Cemetery, November 11th, 1921? On that day both the great and simple men of our nation gathered around a casket in which was sealed the corpse of an unknown soldier. Shrouded with the flag he died to save; escorted by living comrades with whom he suffered; "wrapped in the mantle of his people's praises," the lifeless form of this heroic man passed down an avenue of bowed heads and grateful hearts to his last resting place.

On that day the entire nation marched with him though we knew him not. Smiles mingled with tears because we thought that with his burial the god of war had been vanquished.

Nineteen hundred and *twenty* one! Nineteen hundred and *thirty* one! Ten years later the smiles have disappeared from our countenances as we learn that although this man and those who died with him were held out a definite promise that the World War had purposed to end all wars, nevertheless, the same great nations are actually pursuing the identical policies which generated the last war and are spending one-third more in the preparation for a future conflict than was expended in nineteen hundred and fourteen.

My friends, there is a subtle, certain connection between blood and gold, between war and money. The deeper the rivers of Europe ran crimson, the greater was the pile of gold which forged cannon and steel with which to dye them red. Wars are not only fought for gold. They are waged with gold. Thus, pause to take inventory of the World War which climaxed the age of faithless reason, of godless diplomacy and of questionable prosperity. Pause to see the relationship between the misery which it produced and the gold which was paid to produce it! Ten million men actually known to have been sacrificed. Three million more soldiers presumably dead. Thirteen million slain civilians. Twenty million wounded and maimed combatants. Nine million children's voices crying in vain for the return of their father. Five million helpless widows thrown upon the heartless breast of a cruel world. Cities ruined and nations divided. Governments destroyed and in their stead secret governments of wealth erected. Communism established and discontent growing apace. Patriotism sacrificed and a hypocritical internationalism set up for the welfare of those who have waxed fat upon the misery of the world. And above all, the policies which generated this catastrophe still riding in the saddle of oppression! That is the summary in brief of the progress which we, who have inherited the arts and the culture and the science of the past, shall pass down to the children of the future.

I am going to speak not of millions but of billions of dollars. Do you know what a billion dollars represents? Well, it means more than one dollar per minute since the death of Christ.

For the World War the nations spent $180,000,000,000 in four years to manufacture munitions and machines of war. The property losses attained the enormous amount of $30,000,000,000. Practically $7,000,000,000 was the cost suffered by our shipping industries. This is but some of the tribute which we and our sister nations were forced to place before the iron-clad feet of greed, of injustice, of avarice and of godlessness who masquerade beneath the helmet and breastplate of the god of war. Such is the relation between blood and gold, between money and war. At the rate of one dollar each minute, the world's age will be increased by 412,300 years before payment will have been made.

Today the clouds of depression continue to rain down poverty and distress upon the civilized nations as we bend to the almost hopeless task of attempting to pay the price of our folly. If that were all, perhaps, there would be hope for the future. But remembering the relationship between blood and gold, I wish to tell you the harrowing story of what both the Government and many of the citizens of the United States of America are doing towards generating the next war.

Most of the people in this audience will be astounded to learn that between the years 1917 and 1931 the United States Government loaned Europe for the purpose of paying for the World War $31,257,444,000. Of this money $14,000,000,000 had been loaned during the days of actual hostility. Eventually the war came to a close. At least leaden bullets gave way to silver bullets and thus, the arena of the war was transferred from the battlefield to the banking house.

The Treaty of Versailles was signed, reparations were allotted to England and France and to the other European nations, but not one penny of reparation was forthcoming to the United States. Now, with this thought in mind, do you realize that our over-generous and foolhardy administration cancelled $14,000,000,000 of these war debts referred to—debts that had been acquired during the actual years of hostility, I repeat?

We gave the flower of our youth, we sacrificed our honor, we jettisoned the advice of Washington who almost with his dying lips begged us to refrain from foreign entanglements, and to climax it all we subscribed $14,000,000,000 as if it were no more than fourteen hundred cents for the purpose of perpetuating a war of hatred and greed and avarice among the nations of Europe. We not only condoned their sins but we bestowed prizes upon them for having committed them.

These figures are official and are printed in our *Congressional Record* for Friday, December 18th, on page 860.

Generous hearted America cancelling $14,000,000,000 of actual war debts to alleviate the tax burdens of Europe and imposing upon the shoulders of our own fellow citizens the burden of bearing the yoke through the years to come!

When speaking of war debts remember that for all practical purposes there are now no such things as war debts owed to us by the European nations. Our Government long since has cancelled them.

For the Next War

But what transpired immediately after the war? Were new and stupendous debts accumulated? Most certainly!

Immediately following the Armistice the nations of Europe sent their representatives to America to secure new loans. America had emerged from the war powerful in resources. Its material wealth, aside from the loss of man power, was tremendously increased.

France, Italy, Great Britain, Germany and the other nations of Europe pleaded poverty. One by one they made pilgrimage to the shrine of our national treasury. Their prayers were offered up. Straightaway our governmental purse strings were opened wide. We were advised that if we should assist in reviving Europe our own trade and commerce and wealth would increase. Thus, billions of more dollars from our own treasury were poured into the treasuries abroad. More than that, billions of private dollars coaxed from the gullible American public by bond sellers and international bankers found their way into the coffers of European governments. Over $12,000,000,000 were contributed to foreign nations by our Government after the war. Nearly $5,000,000,000 of private loans were supplied by private individuals after the war. Previous debts had been cancelled. The only debts still remaining are post-war debts.

Meanwhile, it means that the $14,000,000,000 which we had already cancelled in our spasm of prodigality must be paid in taxes by the American people. It means to quote Senator McKellar: *"We have been playing Santa Claus for fourteen years while our mills and mines and factories have closed, while ten million men walk the streets searching for employment and while millions of farmers and home owners are having their property sold out from under their feet."* More preposterous than all that, it is now being insinuated into the minds of the American people by those who love England and France more than they love the United States that we endeavor to make further cancellations of the moneys loaned abroad following the war; that we make further contributions to the jobless of foreign nations while our own dispossessed workingmen can continue to tramp the streets and shudder through the cold winter blasts. We are being informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that if the just debt already confessed as owed to our American ex-soldiers—the "Bonus"—should be paid, our nation would go into bankruptcy. But meanwhile billions of dollars have been handed to

England and to France and to others so that those nations could pay off their soldiers with American money.

And why is this being done? Because we are being informed by the international bankers that unless we permit Europe to revise its debts which accrued after the war commercial disaster will follow.

Had our bankers spent their money with less profit but with more favor in America; had they taught Europe that the wages of sin is death, the Jingoistic diplomats of France and Germany and England and elsewhere would cease pursuing policies which beget war. God knows how desperately our own institutions and our own citizens were in dire need of the billions which have been expatriated from our shores by men who owe allegiance to the colorless flag of internationalism and who, by their deeds, have foresworn allegiance to the Stars and Stripes.

Authentic Figures

I might pause to ask the question: "How have England, France, Belgium, Italy and Rumania used the money which we have loaned to them since the war?"

During the single fiscal year of 1930-1931 England found ways and means to spend $608,024,880 on her military and naval establishments; France spent $547,133,935 on increased armament; Belgium paid out $23,247,347 for armament; Italy spent $332,337,000 for armament; and Rumania paid out $67,061,000 for armament. On the whole our foreign debtors, not including Germany, found $1,779,346,162 to spend for armaments to prepare for the next war—money that they borrowed from us for the revival of commerce and money and which they now tell us they are unable to pay back. We paid for the last war and we are now making pre-payment for the next. American prodigality is in the act of forging new cannons. And international diplomacy is in the act of fabricating new lies.

A moratorium has been declared which grants a holiday to the European nations in paying to us their just debts. But no moratorium has been declared on their insane race in building up their navies, strengthening their armies and piling up their ammunition. Once before we financed the most cruel and bitter war of all history. Today, in the name of furthering trade and commerce, and too often for the sake of bringing profits to the international bond sellers, we are in the act of financing another war which is inevitable despite their peace conferences and their hypocritical diplomacy.

Do you realize that the nations of the world are spending upwards of $4,000,000,000 each year in preparing for the next war? Are you aware that $80.00 out of every $100.00 of our own American taxation is now being paid in this country for wars past and future? Are you surprised to learn that forty million active and reserve soldiers, according to the "*World Almanac of 1932*" are in readiness for the next world war? Are you now convinced that the so-called League of Nations has been nothing more than a veil of deceit under cover of which has been carried on the financial propaganda whose purpose was to prepare for the next war?

If, in one sense, intergovernmental loans and the purchase of foreign bonds have been a gesture of friendliness and of charity between the nations, in another sense they have proven in our own day to be the greatest curse in all history. It were far better that our gold had been sunk in the depths of the Atlantic, lost forevermore, than it were to have offered it up before the altar of iron-clad Mars.

In no sense, my fellow Americans, do I wish to be accused of being a pacifist. To quote Gerald W. Johnson, who wrote in "*Harper's Magazine*" last November: "*I took no part in the 'No More War' demonstrations of a few years ago. I am not a member of the National League of Women Voters, of the Young Women's Christian Association, of the National Council of Jewish Women, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, of the Congress of Mothers, of the Parent-Teacher Association, or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which were the organizations that had the matter in charge. In fact, I am not a woman.*"

I am merely an American man fully conscious of the practical but demoralized world in which I live. I discern that the Prince of Peace has been ostracised from nearly every capital. I am not ignorant of the fact that in His place the trinity of gold, of greed and of hatred have been placed upon our altars.

While I deeply sympathize with every organization which is opposed to war, I sympathize more deeply with our American people upon whom stare the eyes of international envy because of our wealth—a people against whom are silently marshalling the forces of the world. A policy of decent preparedness must prevail. Our people must be protected even at the cost of our lives from unjust aggressors. This shall always be the policy of every American citizen who is ready to lay down his life in a war of self-defense. Death is always preferable to cowardly bondage which sometimes is identified with peace at any price.

From figures cited in the above paragraphs it is evident that our United States Treasury has loaned after the war practically seventeen billion dollars to foreign nations much of which money has been diverted to prepare for the next war. In fact, Lord Beaverbrook says of English bankers: *"Our national financiers borrowed money from France and America; paid 2% and then loaned it to Germany at 8%. Germany in turn loaned it to Russia at 15%."* That is what has become of some of our money. It has not only helped to prepare for the next war. It has also helped to build up communism.

A Look Ahead

But what part did the American public play totally independent of the American Government in furthering the progress of the next war? Incomprehensible as it may seem, between the years 1923 and 1930 individual American citizens were persuaded by their own American bankers to loan $9,176,000,000 of money earned by the sweat of American brows to foreign enterprises. In return for this stupendous amount of gold the American investor received a piece of paper which is called a bond. He exported this money tax free from our nation to foreign countries with the hope of gaining a profit from abroad that could not be had at home. This was the argument which the bond sellers and the bankers used to the American investor.

What did the foreign countries do with this money that was obtained through issues of bonds? These billions of dollars which the foreigners received were used to build hospitals and railroads, central tenements for the working class and in many cases—I might say in all cases—these borrowed billions permitted the ready money in these countries to be used for building warships, aeroplanes, cannons and rifles; to be used in the progress of chemistry for the purpose of creating poison gas with which the next war will be fought.

Were not the purchasers of these bonds advised as to what use would be made of their money? Did not they receive some assurance that this money would be paid back? Well, this is a sordid story in itself. Of course, the banker who sold the bonds made tremendous profits out of his international transactions. That is another story.

For the time being I shall be satisfied to quote the "*New York American*" which informs us: "*No official restraint was practiced anywhere in the United States with respect to foreign loans being sold to American private investors. Not even the blue-sky control which frequently detects and prevents fraudulent or suspicious domestic financing was effective in stemming the tide of foreign loans.*

"*The sellers of these foreign securities enjoyed an absolutely free hand in their foreign-issues offered in the American market, even acquiring listing on the New York Stock Exchange and other American exchanges by the mere formality of presenting an innocuous document prepared by the minister of finance or treasurer of the foreign nation, the foreign municipality or the foreign enterprise.*"

These same quotations from which I am reading have this paralizing criticism to make, namely: "*No check-up was made by the stock exchange to ascertain the accuracy of the statements therein made, and no recourse is left to the American investor but to sit idly by while his investment suffers untold shrinkage.*"

Instead of being anxious to invest their American money in American loans for the prosperity of their fellow American citizens, these public investors beheld the distant fields which appeared to be green; visualized greater profits that were tax exempt; condemned communism with one breath and sang the "*Internationale*" to the tune of golden coins with another. Spurred on by ignorance and by avarice, they turned their backs upon legitimate business and investment at home while today they are being awakened from their fool's paradise to learn that their bonds have dropped in many cases to 10% of their original value and in other cases are being repudiated entirely.

I repeat, we were encouraged to purchase these vicious bonds by a Government that made them tax exempt but which today is devising new means of taxation upon our own people.

More than that, we were encouraged to purchase these bonds aggregating more than nine billion dollars by suave and ignorant bankers who perhaps know the value of dollars and cents but are grossly ignorant of morals and psychology.

To quote again from the "*New York American*" of November 8th, 1931: "*The story of America's private foreign 'investments' is one of simple faith and bitter disillusionment.*

"*It is a tale of violent depreciation, of virtual concellation of invested funds . . . it is a portrait of a nation blindly following the dictates of a banking community which suddenly became international-minded, getting into 'foreign entanglements' in a financial sense, and running amuck on misguided conceptions of foreign 'investing' . . . with a colossal ignorance of prospects, and with a prodigality unequaled in the economic history of the world.*

"*The American investor was relying upon the bankers. Faith in the banker was virtually the only measuring rod for the investor, for the bankers themselves were subjected to virtually no restriction.*"

The State Department at Washington by its silence directly approved of this debauchery and indirectly approved of the disastrous consequences which have fallen upon our nation.

In 1927 the late Senator Dwight W. Morrow in an accurate report entitled "*Who Buys Foreign Bonds?*" has this to say in answer to his own question: "*More than 85% of the people who bought these foreign bonds purchased them in small amounts ranging from* $100.00 *to* $5,000.00 *and that approximately* 50% *of the total amount of these foreign issues was purchased by these small investors.*"

This testimony comes from one of the most outstanding bankers who ever graced the executive board of the J. Pierpont Morgan Banking House.

Well has America played its part in its vocal opposition for the continuance of war. But better has it played its part in its financial assistance to generate another catastrophe compared to which the carnage of the World War will be a holiday.

The history of blood and of gold have always gone hand in hand. To a great extent we financed the World War. In a stupor we permitted the cancellation of $14,000,000,000 which Europe had used to purchase bullets with which to destroy human lives. And not satisfied with that we are threatened with the cancellation of post-war debts both public and private which represent money loaned by us and which is being used to a great extent by these same foreign nations in preparing for the next war.

As long as it is the policy of the United States of America to pour unrestricted gold into the coffers of Europe, so long shall the ancient enemies, Germany and France and their various allies, work ceaselessly towards military retaliation. At the rate at which the four great powers of the world, not counting the United States, are expending money for military preparations $17,793,461,620 will have been expended during the next ten years in preparation for the next war.

Thus, if an honest effort is to be made at a Geneva Conference, or at any other conference, to suspend war activities, let that effort originate in the State Department at Washington which will prohibit further investments in foreign bonds. Facts and not fancies have sustained the argument that both our governmental and private moneys have been diverted into a stream which will run red with the blood of human beings before another generation will have passed.

Any practical person who is aware of the temperament of Europe realizes that this colossal expenditure already made for war purposes shall be used for war and not for a North Pole expedition.

Double Conscription

Meanwhile, a great portion of our money has gone abroad. Meanwhile, there is talk of further cancellation of government money which has been loaned since the cessation of hostilities in 1918. Meanwhile, poverty and discontent have walked down our highways hand in hand. Meanwhile, the bankers who advocated the sale of foreign bonds are being assisted by a government which not once openly protested against this injustice!

In one sense, we, as individuals, are not responsible for what private investors sunk in European bonds which, perchance, may be repudiated. Repudiation is but the price of their folly. But our Government is responsible to the American people for $17,000,000,000 which they have extended to France and to England and to the other nations who are now engaged in a mad race for war equipment. This loan must not be cancelled. And this loan holds priority in payment to the American public from whose treasury it was injudiciously taken.

Let the bankers who already have made commissions in the millions of dollars from the sale of foreign bonds cease advising us that our government loans be abandoned and that their private loans should be honored. And let them remember that if ever through the channels of financial diplomacy we are again forced into a war not only men but also money shall be conscripted to the last dollar!

If the nations participating in the Geneva Conference desire to speak and to act with honesty and morality, let them go home to their capitals and write in bold letters upon their nation's constitution the words: *"Conscription of men means the conscription of money."*

If a government can exact of a poor plow boy or of a factory worker the surrender of his life, it can likewise exact of the millionaire who stays at home the surrender of his money which is less than life.

A Prophecy

And what of the next war?

The next war, my friends, shall be one waged within the confines of our own shores seeking to restore America to Americans and determining whether or not we shall continue both to cancel debts wholesale and to supply funds for foreigners to prepare for another slaughter.

Here is one point whereupon all true Americans can meet in accord.

Already our citizens are over-taxed. If this immortal cancellation of honest debts shall continue our taxes shall be doubled. And if this privation which already has been forced upon the American public shall endure our Government shall be totally destroyed.

I am not a pacifist although I am a follower of the Prince of Peace. I am neither a chauvinist although I would die to defend my country from unjust aggressors.

I well recollect that it was said of old that *"they who use the sword shall perish by the sword."* And I also recollect that the same Divine lips once pronounced the words that *"there shall be wars and rumors of wars"* until the end of time.

I invite both Protestants and Catholics to open their Bibles. In the *"Book of Revelation,"* or as Catholics term it the *"Apocalypse,"* there is written for us with the prophetic pen of him who rested his head upon the bosom of Jesus Christ these momentous words: *"And the number of the army of horsemen was twenty thousand times ten thousand. And I heard the number of them.*

"And thus I saw the horses in the vision. And they that sat on them had breastplates of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone. And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions: and from their mouths proceeded fire and smoke and brimstone. And by these . . . . was slain the third part of men, by the fire and by the smoke and by the brimstone which issued out of their mouths. . . . .

"And the rest of men, who were not slain by these plagues, did not do penance from the works of their hands, that they should not adore devils and idols of gold. . . .

"Neither did they penance from their murders nor from their sorceries nor from their fornication nor from their thefts."

My friends, well might we interpret this inspired prophecy as we picture the skies above us filled with the engines of war. Aeroplanes spitting forth their smokey gas; in an instant, cities turned into graveyards; stark, bleak buildings standing like monuments as they house the corpses of millions of victims offered upon the altar of the god of gold!

God hath not spoken in vain nor hath He warned us in jest.

Shall this generation cease its worship of gold? Shall we learn to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's? Or shall we cast aside both patriotism and religion?

The next war must be fought with the armaments of godliness.

"Therefore, take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day and to stand in all things perfect.

"Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth and having on the breastplate of justice:

"And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

"In all things taking the shield of faith wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one.

"And take unto you the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God.

"By all prayer and supplication praying at all times in the spirit."

My fellow citizens, need I remind you once again of the words of our immortal founder regarding foreign entanglements? Are those who have followed through accident in his place more intelligent than he, or more patriotic than he?

Our Policy

As a priest of God who has nothing but your own welfare at heart and the welfare of the little children who are growing up amongst us can I not implore you to return to the faith of your fathers? Cherish happiness more than wealth. Appraise virtue as more precious than lust. Fall upon your bended knees and ask God's forgiveness for the sins which have led us almost to the brink of destruction, and resolve that from this day forward not one penny of American money shall ever be expended upon foreigners for the molding of cannon and for the carnage of blood. No more bond money to be diverted to mangle and kill. No more profiteering on munitions to be supplied belligerent nations. Not one ton of steel, not one pound of bullets, not one ounce of powder to be supplied from America to warring nations.

If we are honest, let us join not the League of Nations, but the *"league for minding our own business."*

Home defense and home security most certainly. But let us once and for all scuttle the theory that trade and commerce and wealth for the few can be begotten through the unholy alliance with the god of war.

Too long have we suffered the dominance of those who profiteer upon human misery. Too long have we greedily grasped at the gold obtained from the sale of foreign bonds which under the pretext of alleviating European misery was actually fomenting and preparing for another slaughter of human beings.

In our nation's capital there is the grave of the *"Unknown Soldier"* which is symbolic of the millions of martyrs who gave their lives that war would be banished from the face of the earth.

In spirit I stand beside that grave with you, my fellow Americans. During the past ten years both in sunshine and in rain we have beheld ambassadors of finance from England, from France, from Japan and from elsewhere come to kneel within its shadow. In their hands they carry a laurel wreath. In their hearts there is a prayer that when they pass from this holy spot to the Treasury Building, heaps of gold shall be poured into their laps—gold for them to carry back to their countries; gold gained through an argument of charity but destined to fabricate more bullets and to build more graves of *"Unknown Soldiers."*

Oh, soldier boy, whatever may be your name, we know not. But we do know that you and your comrades have died in vain if we stand idly by and permit this injustice to live. Is it not enough that the Redeemer was betrayed unto death for sacrilegious money? Must that betrayal be perpetuated down the ages when His brothers shall be mangled upon the battlefields for the sake of gold? Oh, blood and gold! Oh, Christ and Judas!

Had peace and prosperity been the reward of your death; had oppression ceased; had the god of gold been dethroned, you and your ten million fellow martyrs would be smiling in satisfaction for a sacrifice well made.

I wonder if you are smiling today, soldier boy. I wonder if your dream will come true—a war to end wars; a world safe for the common people!!

A Sandy Foundation

A Storm

I RECOLLECT an experience which occurred to me and to several of my friends some years ago. We were vacationing on the shores of Lake Huron. The day was warm and sultry. In the distance, giant steamers were freighting their cargoes of grain and steel towards the St. Clair River. All afternoon the smoke from their funnels had been clinging to the waters. At length came distant rumbles of thunder. Then livid flashes of lightning began to dance amidst the darkening clouds. With all its fury the storm broke upon us as the unleashed winds lashed into fury the blue waters of the great lake.

We sought shelter in our small, compact cottage which was not more than a hundred yards distant from a pretentious summer mansion. Proud gables, gayly painted walls, trim awnings and beautiful garden—these were the externals of that great house which was built so close to the waters of Lake Huron.

With unabated madness the winds ripped the awnings into ribbons. Caught in the gale, the painted shingles fled from the roof like leaves before a storm. Great breakers washed over the garden. And admidst a crash of thunder, the house swayed and crumbled to the ground!

I have always associated this incident with the Gospel parable so clearly recited by Jesus Christ. I refer to the house that was built upon sandy foundations. The house which, when the winds came, suffered destruction.

After all, a nation is much like a house. If the architects have anchored its super-structure to a rocky foundation, there is scarcely any storm which can destroy it. But if the principles upon which the nation has been founded are sandy it is only a fool who believes that both its policies and prosperity can endure.

The storm which has been gathering for years upon the political horizon broke upon us about October, 1929. Day by day and month by month its fury has increased. Lightning flashes of warning appeared in the sky. And eventually waves of poverty and distress swept over our land. But those residing in the great house have pulled down the blinds of intelligence and of religion while they console themselves with the thought that the precious super-structure of wealth in which they dwell is secure against every storm. If disaster threatens, so they think, it can be forefended by expending their puerile efforts in protecting the top-heavy roof.

In June, 1931, twenty months after the storm of needless and culpable suffering broke upon our nation, Senator Thomas of Oklahoma sought an answer to this question from his colleagues: *"What effort has been made at the hands of Congress to discover the cause of all this trouble?*

"What effort has been made to supply some remeay for the existing conditions as we find them throughout the country?" To which Senator Copeland rejoined: *"Do not ask me. I do not know of an effort that has been made."*

Of course, Senator Copeland was referring to official effort actually put into motion by the Government. And of course, many in this audience will earnestly disagree with the Senator's remarks.

Bills and Bills

But what has been accomplished in Congress since its convention last December?

Over five thousand bills for immediate consideration have been proposed. Forty-five hundred of them were purely local bills identified in no specific manner with the relief of the greatest domestic crisis which we have encountered since the Civil War. One Representative proposed that we erect a hall of fame. I suppose he wished to insure the future immortality of Mr. Mellon and those who served under him in constructing the new plutocratic government. Representative Engelbright introduced a bill "for the destruction and eradication of predatory animals in the State of California." Representative Celler of New York thinks that the most important question of the day is to establish a fish cultural station at Montauk Point, Long Island, while Representative Wolfenden of Pennsylvania has centered his efforts to abate the storm by asking Congress to waste time and money in remodeling the post office at Phoenixville "to make it look colonial."

Of course, during previous sessions there were both time, opportunity and money to bestow in assisting the English, the French, the Germans and the residents of the Republics of South America. And during this present session there has been almost unanimity amongst Congressmen and Senators in arriving at the stupendous conclusion that the house can be saved from the storms which threaten it by pursuing the policy that salvation comes from the top. This principle was expressed years ago by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton. The Jeffersonian principle following the parable of Jesus Christ, namely, that prosperity comes from protecting the foundation, has been rejected. I refer to the recent dole of $2,000,000,000 extended to banks, to industries and to capital in general in the bill known as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act. This bill shall go down in history as the supreme effort of a financial minded government to restore prosperity and to put every American laborer back to work. Through the functioning of this bill we are supposed to get that long delayed "chicken in every pot."

Reconstruction Finance

And how shall this be accomplished? Well, we are informed that by virtue of this Act capital will be extended to banks which have failed enabling them to re-open. In the year 1931 alone, not counting the disastrous year of 1930, we witnessed 2,290 bank failures within the confines of our nation. The total deposits aggregated $1,759,000,000. If the entire $2,000,000;000 of this new financial dole were used to take care of the dispossessed depositors, it would not be sufficient to wipe out the indebtedness of the banks which failed during the years 1931 and 1932 up to date.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill is giving unlimited power and unlimited money to a few men. We are led to believe that this organization will find and solve the problems which caused the depression, that it will restore prosperity to the farmer and to the laborer, whereas, in truth it is an effort to refinance the financiers so that the old time prosperity of 1928 and 1929 can be revived. Analyze it carefully and you will find it to be a piece of legislation which is attempting to land us upon the most dangerous shore of financial socialism in the history of the world.

Pause to see how this will be the inevitable result.

Are you appraised of the fact that this new corporation is authorized and intends to accept the thousands of frozen first mortgages held by banks and financial institutions of our nation? Do you not visualize that within a period of two or three years the mortgage on your property instead of being held by a local independent bank shall rest within the vaults of a subsidiary of the United States Government? Your local bank will trade your mortgage for money. Thus, in an indirect sense you will become a debtor of the United States Treasury.

This is not the first time that our present administration has dipped into the fleshpots of financial socialism.

Are you forgetful that an experiment somewhat similar was conducted in the establishment of the Federal Farm-Loan Banks? During the short but violent history of their existence we have witnessed 451 farm properties every day of the year pass indirectly into the hands either of the State or of these Federal Farm-Loan Banks because the farmer was either unable to pay his taxes or because he was foreclosed for being unable to live up to the conditions of his mortgage.

Thus, the Federal Farm-Loan Act which was intended to be an agent of mercy to the farmers of the country became an agent of torture and destruction and of confiscation.

A few years ago it was commonly said that with our Federal Reserve Banking System the country was made panic proof. Did they succeed in averting financial disaster?

Well, the events of the present belie the presumptions of the past. One after one the small banks disappeared. Amalgamations and chain banking came to replace them. While now, we are entering upon a new period of financial socialism in which every bank in the United States and, consequently every depositor in the nation shall be more or less dominated by this gigantic corporation which is nothing more than a subsidiary of the Government.

Through a policy akin to blood transfusion it is hoped that our invalid nation, which is already suffering from a cancer known as the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, shall be rejuvenated. Two billion dollars belonging to the taxpayers of America is being jeopardized in this noble experiment while fifteen of the largest private banks of New York and Philadelphia and Chicago still hold securely more than $10,000,000,000, not a penny of which they will use in this new game of refinancing the financiers and of bestowing doles upon the wealthy.

If this new venture into financial socialism were so promising as its sponsors paint it, why were it not possible for the wealthy banks to finance their weaker members? They were too shrewd to attempt it. Let the common man of America bear both the burden and the risk, say they.

The bankers who sold more than $9,000,000,000 of questionable foreign bonds to a gullible American public are now to be the recipients of a "bonus" for having conspired to expatriate American money both to foreign governments and to foreign industries.

To operate and function, this gigantic government corporation will expend annually millions of dollars in salary. It will be a bankers' bank. It will assimilate mortgages from Maine to California. Its chief business shall consist in assimilating mortgages held against inflated properties. Its theory is founded on the principle that it is unjust to ask the banker to carry the imprudent loans made in a period of artificial prosperity. "Let the American people share the bankers' losses by trading good money for bad paper." In other words, let us indirectly cancel the bankers' losses as we cancelled the $14,000,000,000 war debts of foreigners. "John Public," the common man, can eventually shoulder this extra burden of taxation.

Walcott Psychology

No wonder Senator Walcott of Connecticut, who sponsored the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill, admitted on the floor of the Senate, that its chief value was purely psychological. At any rate the cat is out of the bag. We now know why the so-called dole was kept from the starving, jobless citizen. It was necessary for the financial minded government to work out a real dole for the bankers.

My friends, we are gambling the security of our nation with this new financial corporation. We are presuming that the

American home owner, who is not only encumbered by a mortgage, but who in many cases is jobless, shall somehow or other obtain money to meet his obligations. The local banker in thousands of cases was unable to collect even the interest on the mortgages, but the Government Finance Corporation is laboring under the impression that a letter from Washington will work the miracle. Meanwhile, the nation is saved for the bankers.

Either one of two things will eventuate. Either a moratorium will be declared upon mortgages held against homes, or else the homes will become the property of the United States Government.

Do you know that in the last ten years by forced and involuntary sales, 1,200,000 farms have been sold out of the 6,000,000 farms in the United States? With an average of five to the family, this means that six million farmers have gone over the hill to the poor house or are wanderers nursing resentment against a system that does not know how to protect homes.

It is more than a coincidence that during the few months since the Federal Farm Banks and other financial socialistic institutions have been erected by our Government to help the farmer, foreclosures have been more numerous and misery more general.

What country in the world presents this picture? Russia's industrial socialism has not surpassed in cruelty America's financial socialism.

What country in the world can match our record of misfortune in the destruction of our citizens' homes? When you sell the home of an American citizen, when you turn him into the highway and byway, you take from him an independence that can never be restored. And instead of patriotism you sear his soul with the word "discontent".

Thus, when we are declaring moratoriums we had better take care of the farmer and the little fellow in his home, the American citizen, the man who knows how to accustom his shoulder to the musket and his hand to the plow.

Former Efforts

These things are not pleasant to speak. But I dare to speak them in defense of the common man of America, the laborer and the farmer, as he stands inarticulate today before a gigantic financial monopoly which is dedicated to the policy that all prosperity begins on top and that *"to him who hath, more shall be given."* How empty is the boast made by those in high places in our nation that today our banks possess more money than ever before in the history of the country! The colossal financial houses refuse to assist their weaker brothers. More than that, when asked to advance a loan to the City of New York, they imposed the condition that the City should economize, generally interpreted as meaning to reduce the relief given the unemployed!

My friends, I repeat that this is not the first experiment on the part of the Government in its novelty of financial socialism. On June 15th, 1929, President Hoover signed the Agricultural Marketing Act, authorizing an appropriation of $500,000,000 to be expended through a Federal Farm Board. On that day he said: *"I invest you with responsibility, authority and resources such as have never before been conferred by our Government in assistance to any industry."* Now observe how this costly experiment worked out. Due to this artificial stimulant, the price of wheat rose from $1.00 to $1.36 a bushel. Instead of mortgages, the Government at that time possessed itself of much of the wheat and of the cotton of the nation. In nearly two and one-half years of Farm Board effort to revive agriculture from the top instead of from the bottom the grand result was the accumulation of 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 bushels of wheat by our Government. It was the largest stock ever controlled by a single agency in the history of the world. A second result was a decline in prices to the lowest level in the history of organized trading. From $1.36 wheat dropped below 40c a bushel! And a final result! $200,000,000 was the net loss of this noble experiment from which we have not learned our lesson. This loss was sustained chiefly by the wheat growers and cotton raisers and taxpayers of the nation! Salaries ranging from $75,000 a year for Mr. Creekmore, the administrator of this fund, down to a minimum of $2,000 a year were expended in procuring this loss. At the present price of cotton per pound it meant that the bleeding, tortured hands of little children must pluck 2,500 bales to pay Mr. Creekmore's salary for one year. Or it meant that 1,250 of these little children must wither in the hot southern sun for several months to prove to us that this high salaried man could lose $200,000,000 of our money so speedily.

My friends, I am not aiming these remarks in anywise at the innocent local banker of our small communities who also has become a victim of the ungodly usury which has been both legalized and practiced in our nation since the enthronement of the international banker in the seats of the mighty. It is the international banker of untold wealth and untold power of whom I speak.

After wrecking the business fabric of the country by advocating foreign loans both public and private; after inflating our stock markets to abnormal heights and by playing politics at the misery of a war burdened people, they ask us to establish a super-corporation to shelter them and to conceal the details of their misdeeds from the public.

Some of these international bankers have committed their crimes for hire. In the first place they sold to their fellowmen all over this country foreign bonds and securities at prices much above what they paid for them. One of these internationalists admitted before the Senate Finance Committee just the other day that they had made out of their unholy transactions more than $14,000,000.

The words are still ringing in the committee room of the Senate investigation chambers how these bond sellers secured the confidence of their customers by every unethical means. They corrupted, debauched and bribed officers of foreign countries. In one South American nation the President and his son were convicted for having accepted a bribe of $415,000 from one of these American international bankers to falsify the conditions of a loan.

And now they have succeeded in establishing a super-corporation with a detective service de luxe. Not one penny of their own money will be used in attempting to revive the banks of the nation. But they have persuaded a Government whose deficit for this current year is already $2,000,000,000 to supply the means whereby this financial socialism, or plutocratic domination shall thrive.

Labor Before Money

At all times the sophistry has been accepted that wealth and prosperity begin and end with money. At no time has the truth been admitted that all true progress and prosperity are identified with labor.

Labor has pre-existed all moneys, gold or silver, or stocks or bonds. No banking institution could ever have been established unless the laborer and his fellowmen had originated them.

Is there anyone so blind as to refuse to admit that when our foreparents first arrived in America, they cleared the land with no other wealth in their possession save their courage and their axe? No gold was paid them to build the roads through the forests. Pioneers have always preceded white collared bankers.

I make these statements not to disparage the utility of a banking system but rather to make clear the point that a banking system is an effect and that labor is its cause.

Thus, today when we are confronted with a depression that is intimately identified with the laborer and not with the bankers, who boast of having more gold in their vaults than ever before in their history, let us not dabble with the sophistry that we can cure the situation by pampering the effects and neglecting the causes.

Every Herculean effort is being put forth by the international banker to restore the so-called prosperity of 1928 and 1929. He is desirous of bringing back the silk shirt era. He is anxious to recreate an artificial inflation of stocks and bonds. He is determined to spin the wheels of mass-productionism which resulted formerly in building up the fabulous fortunes of the few. Fearful that his system of plutocracy is coming to the end of the road he is attempting not only to revive it but to establish it so firmly that it can withstand the shock of the next depression.

During the past fifty years the history of our economic system has consisted of getting in and getting out of eight national major depressions and seven minor ones. This is the finding of Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, former Statistician of the United States Army, who proved his point in an economic chart made for the Cleveland Trust Company. By the time the next depression shall over-cloud us our children shall be satisfied to emerge from its torture with a standard of living equal in every respect to that under which the rest of the world is laboring. Restoration of the former prosperity and economic conditions, which have produced these so-called cyclic cataclysms, is in nowise desired by the millions of jobless men who foresee their progeny keeping up the ceaseless tramp upon the highways and streets of a nation that is ruled by the god of gold and which has rejected the Gospel of Christ.

Ladies and gentlemen, the common people of America are just as determined that the causes of these depressions shall be once and for all eliminated. Of old our forefathers raised their voices and their might against "taxation without representation." And today that same determination, garbed in the decency of patience and armed with the sword of legality, insists that there shall be no more unjust taxation by international banker or by greedy industrialist upon the bodies and souls of the American laborer or of the American farmer. In 1776 the voice of the people rose above the propaganda of the satellites, and the will of the common man scorned the tyranny of the oppressor.

Today, the sons of that same common man are asking among themselves what legislation has our Congress passed against unemployment? Today, he scans the newspapers to discover what statute has been written upon our nation's books to prevent the unjust accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few. He is wondering about his old age and if provision has been made to care for it. He is worrying about the next season of unemployment, whether or not he shall be capable of feeding his little children and of saving his humble home. And above all he is determined to use the weapon of his vote to slay the immoral fiction of partisan politics and lying promises.

God has given him life. With that gift there has come the command to save it. May God give us men who have the courage to lead us on!

I wonder if the Congressmen and the Senators have caught the spirit of the times. Parties mean nothing either to the laborer or to the farmer any more. Parties promised a great deal at the last election, and they have failed miserably. Hereafter, the common man is voting not on the basis of promises but on the records of Congressmen and Senators, and if necessary, of new leaders up to the time of election. Will the record of the present Congress and administration bear the scrutiny?

The "Bonus"

In these days when "wars and rumors of wars" are coming to us from China and Japan our thoughts naturally turn to the soldier boys who fought in the World War. Thousands of them have gone never to return. Millions of them have returned only to be disappointed. And why? Because by an Act of Congress a certain stipend, or salary, sometimes referred to as a "bonus," was voted to them and payment of it has been deferred.

However, about one year ago half of this salary was paid after much discussion. At present more than $2,000,000,000 is still outstanding on this debt which we, as American citizens, owe to those who fought in the last war. Supposing $2,000,000,000 of this just debt were paid to those men who were brave and honest enough to fight, would not this money go far in saving homes, in filling empty stomachs, in reviving purchasing power throughout the nation? Billions to the international bankers who never fought. But none to the soldiers who risked life and limb!

Mr. Mellon tells us that it would bankrupt the nation to pay this debt already confessed by Congress as owed to our ex-soldiers. But it did not bankrupt Congress to cancel the debts which foreign nations owed us. Nor will it bankrupt the United States to create a $2,000,000,000 corporation for the banking industries of the nation.

Supposing the money owed to our soldier boys were paid through the flotation of bonds, have you an idea how much would come to your local community to be spent with the grocer, the hardware merchant, the local physician, the barber and the general store? Of course, I have not time to mention the name of every city within the reach of my voice. I shall only give you in more or less exact figures how much of this so-called "bonus" money would come to the cities from which this "Golden Hour" broadcast is sent to your homes.

Philadelphia	$ 35,900,102
New York City	132,371,518
Chicago	69,554,623
Syracuse	3,991,902
Albany	2,483,102
Baltimore	15,365,055

Detroit	27,370,104
Boston	15,149,423
Bridgeport	2,730,385
Buffalo	10,787,526
St. Paul	5,613,972
Minneapolis	9,599,048
Bangor	495,570
Worcester	3,785,127
Cincinnati	7,797,853
Cleveland	15,957,869
Newark	8,417,208
Pittsburgh	12,026,504
Providence	5,051,410
St. Louis	15,268,496
Hartford	3,053,379
New Haven	3,026,810

Every village and town and city in the United States of America would be the recipient of a prorated amount of money if there were as much honesty in those who have the handling of our money as there was in those who were willing to die to save it. I wonder what response would come to the bugle's call to arms from these same soldier boys or their younger brothers, now that they have learned of the duplicity of an ungrateful administration dominated by the genius of the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since the days of Alexander Hamilton!

The great banks which complain loudly of having more money in their vaults than ever before in their history could at least invest some of it in buying bonds to pay the ex-soldiers their just wages. This money in turn would find a way to revive the purchasing power of a country where the common man and the common soldier have been disparaged and where the false theory is adopted that prosperity begins at the top!

Religion?

Perhaps, you wonder what all this has to do on a religious hour and are trying to connect its relationship to religion. Through its official spokesman the Catholic Religion has protested against the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and has insisted upon a just and living wage for every laborer willing to work. Leo XIII and Pius XI have spoken in no vague terms regarding the duty of the State or of the Government to legislate justly for the protection of the laboring man. To quote from Leo XIII: "*Justice demands that the interest of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create.*"

Pius XI says: "*That it is evident in our days not alone is wealth accumulated but immense power and despotic domination are concentrated in the hands of a few.*" He adds: "*The whole economic life has become hard, cruel and relentless in a ghastly measure and the State which should be the supreme arbiter ruling in kingly fashion far above all party contention has become instead a slave bound over to the services of human passion and greed.*"

These, my friends, are expressions coming from the eminent heads of the Catholic Church. Against the abuses referred to we protest in the name of religion.

We have not forgotten the picture of Jesus Christ as He fed the multitude on the hillside. We still hear the words leveled at Him by the greedy despots of His day when He mingled with the common man. We are not forgetful that He was done to death because "He stirreth up the people" by preaching a Gospel of brotherhood and justice and charity to them. He came into the world as the Prince of Truth courageous enough to confront the pharisees and call them whited sepulchres. And He left the world knowing that thirty pieces of silver were clinking in the purses of these same Pharisees ready to be used in buying paupers graves for the oppressed people of Jerusalem.

We hope that the modern Pharisees who have erected a cruel system of financial socialism will at least, have generosity enough to purchase paupers' graves for the brothers of Christ whom their policies are murdering.

One would think it unnecessary to remind a literate people of these facts—a people to whom the pages of history have been opened. Do we not realize that the nations of the past builded houses with walls of gold, with pinnacles of sapphire, only to see them demolished? Did not the storms of time destroy foundations that had been constructed upon the sands of injustice, the sands of greed and the sands of lust for power?

Now that the storm clouds are gathering; now that out of the east there come the winds to wash against the house of our nation the troubled waves of discontent, it is our business and our duty to see that the foundation stones of love of God, love of our fellowman and love of country shall guarantee us safety against every tempest and every storm. God wills it! And you, my fellow Americans, likewise will that this country shall still be *"of the people, by the people and for the people." "In God we trust"* and in God's religion, and not in the theory *"that to him who hath, more shall be given."*

Labor is the foundation of wealth. The laborer's pick and axe; his trowel and chisel; his plow and cultivator; his brush —his every instrument has builded homes in the wilderness, has raised wheat in the prairies, has erected schools in the clearings before either banks or bankers came upon the scene of conquest.

Truly, labor needs capital. But capital and bankers are infinitely more dependent upon labor, just as is the effect upon the cause.

Prosperity comes from the bottom and not from the top. Open your Bibles at the Gospel of Christ according to St. Luke and you will read in the forty-eighth verse of the sixth chapter the description of the two men who builded for prosperity. First, of the successful man Scripture says: *"He is like to a man building a house, who digged deep, and laid the foundation upon a rock. And when a flood came, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and it could not shake it; for it was founded on a rock."*

But of the failure who was deaf to the warning of Christ, the same Scripture adds: *"But he that heareth, and doth not, is like to a man building his house upon the earth without a foundation; against which the stream beat vehemently and immediately it fell, and the ruin of that house was great."*

The God of Gold

I.

ON several occasions during this broadcasting season I made reference to the god of gold. In no sense, clearly speaking, do I believe that gold is a god. Nevertheless, there are those who actually worship him. To them he is the beginning and end of all happiness. Before him are sacrificed in the flames of injustice millions of innocent men and women and inarticulate children.

We remember with horror the story which pictures the barbarism of a mythical people who, in the name of religion, threw their beautiful daughters into the dens of ravenous animals. We are appalled when we read the biblical story which tells of children being burned in holocaust before the man-made Moloch.

Unsurpassed are both the unreasonableness and the cruelty of these ancients by the needless sacrifices which are daily offered up on our streets and in our homes before the altars of the modern god of gold.

Both by trick and by subterfuge, his high priests of finance have builded him a throne. They have surrounded it with the tinseled trappings of wealth. Cunning in power and strong in influence, they have invented both a liturgy and a worship which they have imposed upon the peoples of the earth.

Remembering the miracle of Cana, the high priests of this malicious god have preached that he, too, has turned the waters of the dark ages into the wine of this day's progress. To him they appropriate the credit for the material prosperity which surrounds us. It was through his omnipotence that the wilderness of America within the short span of one hundred fifty years became the Mecca of the world's culture and wealth.

My friends, no matter what religion you profess, both you and I are agreed upon this point, namely, that the essential attribute of God is infinity. He must have neither beginning nor end. The ocean of His activities must be bounded by no shores.

Thus, realizing that this new god of gold should, at least, have the appearance of infinity, they who created him contrived to procure this prerogative.

The Measureless Finite

My finite, limited mind is quite incapable of describing for you the garment of infinity which the apostles of this new religion of gold-worship have attempted to weave for their monstrous god. Even the opposite to infinity, which is described as the finite, baffles our understanding.

Can you grasp with any security the astounding fact that a straight line passing from the earth where you stand to its opposite side measures approximately 8,000 miles? Have you the faintest conception of the magnitude of the myriad stars which shine like lamps let down from the ceiling of heaven? What is the planet of our Earth compared to mighty Saturn? Earth is but a pigmy 8,000 miles in diameter; Saturn measures 168,000 miles. The majestic orb of the Sun which now is setting in a flood of crimson glory is even larger; 850,000 miles from pole to pole! Immense as is this earth upon which we dwell, it shrinks into insignificance when we consider that 1,300,000 of its duplicates could be placed within the sphere of the Sun were it an empty shell.

Are you beginning to grasp the immensity of measurable things? Need I tell you, to impress the idea more firmly, that if a cannon ball fired from our planet to celebrate the Declaration of Independence in 1776, had continued on its course ever since that remote date with the velocity of 1,800 feet per second it would not yet be half way to the planet Neptune?

Need I suggest that although light travels at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, nevertheless, it takes at least four long years for the silver shining of the nearest star to reach your eyes?

Try to grasp the thought that when tonight you gaze upon the Galaxy the light rays which twinkle in the heavens above left their destination long before Columbus discovered America and are just arriving within the focus of your sight, although they, too, traveled at the rate of 186,000 miles per second.

Could you understand the significance of these facts, my friends, you would then be on the threshold of discovering not what is meant by the infinite but only what is suggested by the finite. If in your wildest dreams, you could transport yourselves to the outposts of space where the bugles of the imagination sound their taps, you would behold an army of angels winging their way forever at speed immeasurable across the limitless oceans of infinity. Time is but a sunbeam in the day of eternity! Space is but a grain of sand upon the shore of infinity!

Only One God

From the incomprehensible heights of the heavens above us, let us return to the practical things of our mother Earth. But in returning, be sure to bring back the idea with you that the millions of stars, immense beyond our conception and whirling through space at a speed almost incalculable, are whispering forevermore the glories of the God Who created them. The god of gold may unjustly boast that he has created earthly prosperity. But when he dares assume the mantle of infinite power, he has forgotten the existence of the true God Who spangled the heavens with the works of His omnipotence.

Thus, may I describe for you the attempt on the part of the god of gold to usurp the place of the God of life.

The Usurper

On the day when Napoleon lost the battle of Waterloo the modern god of gold was born. There was a little money changer who already had made a considerable fortune by loaning gold to princes and to dukes for the purpose of carrying on their petty wars. He was safely out of range of shot and shell during the conflict between the French and the English. He was satisfied to view through his telescope the English battalions who were standing unbroken. He saw the French troops melt under the rain of hot lead!

When he was certain that Napoleon was doomed, he set off post-haste to the nearest port, weighed anchor on the speediest vessel; arrived in England even before the news of victory had been heralded. First, he spread the news that Wellington had been defeated. Then he purchased thousands of English governmental bonds which were selling for almost nothing. Over night this man, Rothschild by name, became a power in the financial world. His bonds tripled and quadrupled. His fortune was made. The Rothschilds won the battle of the world!

Since that day, my friends, you and I and every human being have become victims of a system of international finance. That day marks the date when the modern financial world began to weave the garments of infinity for their god of gold.

Striving to Become Infinite

How was this accomplished? The answer is brief. Generally speaking, it was done through the concentration of international wealth in the hands of a few. More specifically, it was brought about by a vicious system of compound interest to which no limitation has ever been attached. A system of interest which is based on the principle that money can multiply itself even to the border of infinity.

Do you realize what compound interest means? On the recent $2,000,000,000 loan made by the American people to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation it means that at the rate of 6% interest every man, woman and child living in the United States shall each contribute $1.00 this year to sustain this loan. At the end of the second year, if neither interest nor principle will have been paid, our debt to ourselves will be $2,247,200,000. In twelve years, which after all is not such a long time, the original $2,000,000,000 debt will have increased to $4,000,000,000.

Of course, in nowise am I criticizing the system of interest in legitimate business. I am merely pointing out the injustice of compound interest which is predicated on the fallacy that although the things for which money is used are perishable, nevertheless, the interest charged for a loan should run an immortal course without any cessation.

If 25 cents were loaned at 5% compounded semi-annually for 1500 years; and if gold were valued at the rate of $20.00 an ounce, it would require under our present system an amount of gold 1,465 times the size of this entire earth to pay off the debt. The idea is simply staggering and unthinkable.

The system of compound interest was frowned upon by the Christian Church for centuries. Its accepted practice, I repeat, began to be universal in the early nineteenth century. If the billions of dollars now loaned at rates approximately 6% interest shall continue in compounded force for the next twelve years the world's debt will be doubled, as will the world's suffering and the world's unemployment which both seem to keep pace in offering up their sacrifices to the god of gold who is striving towards infinity.

The Fallacy of Gold

The fallacy of the whole theory is evident. Wealth is not identified with gold. As I have often said before over this microphone, wealth is essentially identified with labor.

In itself gold is rather valueless. When hungry you cannot eat it. Never have I heard of any man drinking it, except the Roman Crassus who, because of his many and tyrannous misdeeds, was assassinated by having hot gold poured down his throat by those against whom he had practiced usury. Gold will not protect you from the cold winter blast. Gold is not medicine to cure you in times of illness.

In itself it is nothing more than a metal more precious than silver and iron only because of its scarcity. In itself it is certainly not wealth but is only the ambassador of wealth.

Two thousand years before the coming of Christ, the Egyptians used as their coinage portions of gold. And two thousand years after the death of Christ the same practice will still be in vogue. But let us not permit the ambassador to usurp the throne of the king. Let not gold be identified with wealth. Originally all wealth was identified with labor and with land. Wheat and iron, flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, shelter and clothing—these were the essentials of material life. Poets came to sing their sweet songs from house to house. Philosophers gathered around them the young men of the countryside to teach them wisdom. Physicians distilled herbs to ward off illness within their community. Soldiers forsook their plowshares and their vineyards to march to battle.

How could these and numberless men like them who had neither time nor opportunity to till the soil or perform direct operations for life's necessities—how could they carry about with them either wheat or wine or the essential elements of wealth? For this purpose gold was used. In itself it was worth little. Its mission was merely to represent the elemental things of life.

The real material wealth of a nation is produced by the multiplication of its wheat fields, of its cattle, of its laborers who build cities and homes and who generate their sons and daughters to carry on the work which they began.

Associated with this elemental thought of material wealth is the fact that it perishes. The wheat is consumed. The sheep are killed. The iron rusts and homes and buildings decay.

Material wealth is not infinite in duration. But we have lived to witness an attempt upon the part of the financiers to deify gold; to make it eternal and infinite in duration, although it only represents the things that perish.

It is a theory which overturns the conception of life and the material things sustaining it. It is self-contradictory insofar as it presumes that the perishable can beget the imperishable.

Considering that every sixteen years a new generation appears upon the scene of life's battles, compound interest aims at placing a double load upon the shoulders of our children for the debts which we have already acquired.

Thus, following Rothschild's example the international banking system has so completely extended its compound loans throughout the entire world that today millions of borrowers find it impossible even to pay their interest let alone their principal, because in many cases the compound interest has surpassed the original loan.

From individuals this disease, germinated by compound interest, has spread to cities and to states. The laborer and the farm owner, because he is unable to pay the interest on his home, suffers it to be confiscated. State after state, verging on bankruptcy, is burdened with the possession of untaxable property. And to the general misery is added the new prospect of further taxation both upon industry and land to carry a yoke that already has grown too heavy. The only cure for our poverty, so it is thought, is found in adding further imposts of taxes which will do nothing more than multiply poverty. It is the revival of the cannibal's cure for sickness—sudden death!

The Religious Attitude

If today homes and farmlands are succumbing before the theory of international lending at compound interest, tomorrow states and kingdoms shall follow.

What suggestion is offered to lift this cross of gold from the shoulders of a people who are staggering to the mountain top of this new Calvary of destruction? What remedy can we apply to the economic wounds of our civilization?

In the twenty-fifth chapter of the Book of Leviticus there was a remedy suggested by Almighty God to the same Moses to whom

He had given the Ten Commandments. In the tenth and following verses we read: *"And thou shalt sanctify the fiftieth year, and shalt proclaim remission to all the inhabitants of thy land: for it is the year of jubilee. Every man shall return to his possession, and every one shall go back to his former family:*

"In the year of the jubilee all shall return to their possessions.

"When thou shalt sell any thing to thy neighbor, or shalt buy of him; grieve not thy brother. But thou shalt buy of him according to the number of years from the jubilee."

This then is God's way to limit the attempts of gold to multiply itself indefinitely. Money was loaned and purchases were made according to the number of years from the jubilee which occurred every fifty years. Interest was not permitted to pass beyond this period. Compound interest was never tolerated.

It is true that these words were spoken in the Old Testament before Christ came to grace this world with His presence. But it is likewise true that when He did come His mission was not to destroy but to perfect. If such an economic principle as given by God to Moses was considered fundamental to maintain the prosperity of the Hebrew nation, it cannot lightly be put aside today when we are confronted by the chaos which is just around the corner of tomorrow.

In our nation a brutal warfare is in progress in which confiscation of homes and properties is the penalty. Abroad there are wars and rumors of wars because nations refuse to submit to the economic tyranny imposed upon them counter to the principles of justice. Let us erase, therefore, from our minds the thought that lifeless gold can go marching down the centuries, multiplying itself on and on beyond the computations of any human mind. A year of jubilee that restored homes and possessions to the citizens of Scriptural days must be invoked in this present century else we shall witness a catastrophe in which the international usurers shall perish as the foundations of our civilization are overturned.

Taxation and Gold

But what are they suggesting?

Instead of cutting the Gordian knot with the sword of simple justice we find on the lips of a certain few legislators the theory of imposing new taxes, and perpetuating the injustice of borrowing at compound interest.

I have in my hand a litany of expressions from the Governors of our various States regarding this unwise venture of multiplying taxation.

Of course, I have not time to read all of them for you. But bear with me while I repeat but a few.

Governor Hunt of Arizona says: *"The limit of the ability of the taxpayer to pay has been reached."*

Governor Rolph, Jr., of California states: *"In many instances the accumulating of special assessments is tantamount to confiscation."*

Governor Cross of Connecticut has gone on record as stating that *"there should be some re-adjustment in the tax burden."*

Governor Russell of Georgia warns us that *"taxation problems cannot be solved by voting new taxes."*

Governor Ross of Idaho admits that *"taxation has become an almost unbearable burden."*

Governor Woodring of Kansas is gracious enough to say that *"the defects of our system are too glaring to go uncorrected."*

Governor White of Ohio maintains that *"the burden of taxes belongs where the ability to pay exists."*

Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania proclaims that *"this is no time to add new taxes."*

Governor La Follette of Wisconsin asserts that *"shifting a portion of the burden to those with large incomes is more than justified."*

These are a few of the forty some expressions from the Chief Executives of our States. All are unanimous on the point that the disease which has grown out of the concentration of wealth and the multiplication of compound interest cannot be cured by imposing more taxes and effecting further confiscations against the American public.

We have now reached the abysmal point in finance and commerce where there is not sufficient gold in the world today to pay its debts. Moreover, according to the United States Census Report, the indebtedness of our State Governments, not including obligations of counties, cities or townships, increased from $3.75 per individual in 1915 to $15.02 in 1930.

According to the admission of our bankers and to the facts which stare us openly in the face the mortgages and debts contracted three years ago have automatically increased one-half because the gold dollar is today valued in the markets at 150 cents.

Thus, the $8,000,000,000 of mortgages held against the farmlands of the United States of America are at this present moment actually equivalent to $12,000,000,000.

The farmer or the laborer who is expected to meet these obligations is forced under a condition, where he pays out $1.00 for every 65 cents he receives in the current market, either to submit to the confiscation of his land or else join hands with the Governor of his State and openly defy and protest against a system which has permitted the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few thanks to its compound interest and to its unjustifiable usury.

You are people who are supposed to read and know the Bible. But you have either been ignorant of it and its teachings or else you have rejected it and its principles to become willing slaves of the god of gold, who, if permitted to continue upon his ungoverned career, will out-Midas Midas. I refer to the mythical king in ancient lore who was gifted with the touch of gold. Every morsel of food which came to his lips; every flower which he grasped in his hands was transformed into golden metal. Even his son whom he clasped in his arms became a lifeless statue—the curse of the golden touch.

Read your Bible and you will find a solution of our difficulties in the twenty-fifth chapter of the Book of Leviticus which not only limits the duration of interest but which also adds: *"If thy brother be impoverished and weak of hand, and thou receive him as a stranger . . . . take not usury of him nor more than thou gavest."* Thus it is implied that on a loan to an impoverished stranger no interest at all should be charged.

Useless Debts Acquired

Taxes, however, must be met and must be paid. There is need for both an army and a navy for our home defense. Necessary governmental officials, police and fire protection—these and many other essentials are fundamentally associated with civilization. But there is no necessity for turning the post office department into a political campaign headquarters where thousands of tons of mail are sent frank free. There is no reason to send our warships and our soldiers to the shores of China for the purpose of protecting oil interests which during the past few years have conspired to dump their foreign product into our country duty free while the oil wells of our midwest and of our south are incapable of competing with the slave labor of China. We are in a tremendous hurry to spend millions of dollars to protect the multi-millionaire oil producers on whose operations in China not a penny of taxes enters our country but we are loath to declare a moratorium on taxes for the oil well owners of our impoverished south.

Save Taxation

The following figures which I am about to quote in connection with a solution of the tax problem and, therefore, with the salvation of the American home, are taken directly from the United States Census findings. In nowise are they my own figures or computations.

For twenty years previous to the "noble experiment" known as prohibition the farm values in the United States increased $50,000,000,000.

In the year 1919 the farmers of our country had an income of $15,434,000,000.

In ten years following prohibition farm values dropped $18,446,164,244.

In the year 1931 the farm income was $8,514,000,000 less than it was in 1919.

Besides this tremendous and devastating decrease for every dollar of taxes paid by the farmers in 1913 they were required to pay $2.49 in 1929.

Whether you are for or against prohibition these official figures compiled by successive administrations which upheld prohibition prove that the farmers lost $54,217,000,000 in income in the ten years of prohibition. Not only has the farmer been the loser. Our United States Government has lost $4,800,000,000 in taxes alone during the last twelve years of prohibition.

Figuratively speaking, the American farmers had climbed to the topmost rung of prosperity in 1919. From this pinnacle they could survey 6,448,343 farms with a total wealth of approximately $70,000,000,000.

As a rule the American farmer is a God-fearing person. Thus, when he was informed that prohibition must supplant temperance because such was the teaching of Jesus Christ he was most ready to acquiesce to this policy. It was the least he could do after Almighty God had showered down blessing after blessing upon his home and his fields. Here was a sacrificial act of thanksgiving. Here was a guarantee that God would continue to bless them in the future as He had in the past.

More interested in the raising of cattle and in the tilling of fields he had little time at his disposal to search the Scriptures for the authorization of Almighty God on this question of prohibition. He heeded little the miracle at Cana. He neglected to investigate the story of the Last Supper. He failed to realize that because the temperate Jesus Christ did occasionally, and never to excess, indulge in a drink of wine, He was called a wine bibber not by His friends but by those who sought to destroy Him. This is plain from reading the testimony found both in Matthew and Luke, Chapters eleven and seven respectively.

No wonder the honest farmer and the dignified city laborer turned against the hideousness of the corner saloon that had become a pawn of politics. No wonder both of them were willing to suscribe millions of dollars to eradicate this curse from our midst. But the farmer had not been blessed with vision to perceive that his holdings would decrease by more than $18,000,000,000; that despite this decrease in value of his farmlands his mortgage increased $1,610,826,000.

This was just as much a shock to him as it was to discover that Christ was not the inventor of prohibition but that enemies of Christ, Manes, the heretic, and Mohammed of the bloody sword, fathered the sophistry which reappeared in our own day. Under the cloak of goodness, it multiplied our saloons tenfold. It filled our prisons to overflowing. It made millionaires out of criminals. It deprived our Government of a lawful income. And it sent hundreds of thousands of dispossessed farmers wandering over the face of the earth. Last year alone 161,143 farms were confiscated for non-payment of taxes and for inability to meet their mortgages. From a happy, prosperous army of God-fearing men, our farming class by sheer force of circumstances have been driven to throw themselves at the feet of the Government and beg for relief.

As far back as the year 1916 there was presented to the War Prohibition Conservation Committee a statement signed by the outstanding economists of the nation and distributed widely by Edwin Dinwiddie who was then the chief agent of the Anti-Saloon League—a statement that 108,000,000 bushels of grain were used in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages of which 80,000,000 bushels were used in the manufacture of beer alone.

Sixteen long years have passed since the Anti-Saloon League made that admission. During these sixteen years according to the prohibitionists themselves, the American farmers have lost the marketing of 1,728,000,000 bushels of grain.

Ask any farmer how many men would be employed to raise 100,000,000 bushels of grain. And he will tell you that one farmer cannot produce more than a thousand bushels for market in a single year. On the basis of the 1916 production, and taking no account of increase in our population, 1,728,000 farmers have lost a year's work and a year's income during the twelve years of prohibition.

To procure this stupendous loss; to be the indirect agents of Al Capone and his like there are thirty-three professional prohibition organizations spending an aggregate of $5,000,000 a year to uphold under the cloak of religion a heresy condemned by the early Church and a practice discountenanced by the life of Jesus Christ.

While the homes of more than 161,000 farmers each year are being sold under the hammer; while the streets of America are resounding to the tramp of more than 8,000,000 unemployed citizens, the superintendents of the Anti-Saloon League are drawing salaries from $4,000 to $15,000 a year and expenses. They travel all over the United States and Europe. They ride in luxurious pullman cars and steamships. But the farmers, who were misled by their misrepresentations to support prohibition, are working twelve to sixteen hours a day at back breaking toil and getting as their reward at the end of a year a notice from the sheriff or tax collector that they are to be sold out of house and home.

How shall we solve our tax situation? Certainly not by imposing new and outrageous taxes upon the automobile industry. Certainly not by placing a cross upon the shoulder of the citizen with the small income. Hands off the farmer! Hands off the laborer and the small home owner! Take the revenue which has fallen into the purses of the bootlegger and restore it to our Government. Restore to the United States Treasury the money which has been wilfully lost and squandered on this "noble experiment."

How much money ask you has been lost?

In the year 1919 according to the official figures of our Federal Government $483,050,854 was its revenue in liquor taxes. Multiply that figure by the twelve years which we have spent deceiving ourselves—and even forget the 17,000,000 increase in population—and we have $5,345,778,129 representing the net revenue loss to our nation.

In no way must we make a compromise either with the saloon keeper or with the bootlegger. Let us learn to preach temperance and to practice temperance, or total abstinence if we will. Empty churches and crowded jails, dispossessed farmers, and the army of the unemployed; and the increased burden of taxes are eloquent testimony of its social and economic failure.

Thus, today, my friends, I have spoken rather lengthily on the subject of the god of gold before whom so many millions of our innocent fellow citizens have been offered in sacrifice. Through ignorance we have permitted him to march relentlessly over the hearts and homes of men. Like Midas of old he has imposed upon us the curse of his touch. Although he is nothing more than a messenger of real wealth he has arrogated to himself the vestments of infinity and the sceptre of omnipotence. Born in the travail of blood at Waterloo his policies have multiplied bloodshed throughout his reign. Riding roughshod over the common people of the earth he has dispatched his lieutenants to accumulate the wealth of the world.

Has the time not come for us to heed the admonition of Christ to "*seek first the kingdom of God and His justice*" and to forego the kingdom of gold and its crushing tyranny? Has the day not arrived when Judas-like we shall cease selling our brothers for gold or silver coin; cease crucifying him upon the gibbet of poverty; cease piercing his heart with the lance of oppression?

If we put aside hypocricy and as individuals begin to follow Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, we can with all confidence envision the sunrise of a happy Easter morn when we, too, shall rise glorious from the grave of our misery to triumph over those who, perhaps, in ignorance have transfixed us between the thieves of gold and greed. We, too, like Christ can say: "*Father forgive them for they know not what they do.*"

The Secret Is Out

I.

"THE nation salutes the great name of Abraham Lincoln on the day which it has set apart for the commemoration of his life and his illustrious public services.

"Each year the renown of Lincoln expands throughout the world. The veneration and affection in which his memory is held by all Americans deepen and grow stronger in their hearts.

"It was always wisely that he spoke—in simple words, with a loyalty to his country that knew no turning, and with exhaustless human sympathy.

"All that he said is treasured, but there is general agreement that two of his utterances stand out imperishably—the Gettysburg address and the second inaugural address. They will never die.

"On a metal tablet upon the walls of the great library of Oxford University in England, the Gettysburg speech is set forth in full, with the statement that it is preserved in permanent mold, as a monument to the power and resources of the English language.

* * * *

"The address delivered upon his second inauguration as President, graven in bronze, fills one entire side of the spacious chamber of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Here it greets the eye of every visitor and is read and re-read, day after day, by countless throngs.

"'With malice toward none;' it reads, 'with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.'

"Words for today, words for all days, particularly days of difficulty and confusion such as now confront our people.

"In a single sentence we catch the secret of Lincoln's power. Passion he doubtless felt, but he did not succumb to it. Criticism was heaped upon him, but he did not bend under it. Of defeat and reverse he had more than his share, but he kept steadily onward. His mission was to defend his country, to solve its prob-

lems, to reunite his people. This he kept always before him and never swerved.

* * * *

"By firmness and patience he brought disloyalty and resistance into submission to the nation's will and subordination to the public interest, and was able to carry through, to a victorious conclusion, his work as the savior of the union.

"In quietness and confidence, he found his strength. With malice toward none and with a charity that human weakness could not embitter, he hewed to the line of duty, finally achieving the rescue of his country from destruction and the appeasement of the controversies that had almost overthrown it."

I have just read for you an excerpt from an editorial which appeared in the "Detroit Times." It recalls the immortal glory of the Great Emancipator who, to those of us believing in the immortality of the soul, still hovers in spirit in our midst. Sometimes the winds of passion and of greed seem to howl down his counsel. Sometimes his noble spirit suffers as the everlasting advocates of slavery seem to conquer. His voice is silent, but his spirit abides with us forever, for in confidence we repeat the Lincoln optimism: *"This, too, will pass away."*

To ask ourselves what would Lincoln do were he living now, is a speculative question which no one can precisely answer.

If seventy-one years ago he risked all for the emancipation of the enslaved negro, never questioning the expediency of his action but motivated solely by its justification, I feel certain that in this day we would find him standing stalwart in defense of the laborer and of the farmer, who both have been more sinned against than sinning.

I wonder also what would be Christ's attitude if He, the Redeemer of the human race, were living in the flesh today!

I wonder if in this year 1932 the Divine Master had just kissed His Blessed Mother farewell before entering the desert in preparation for His public life, what would be His reaction to our conditions?

Supposing it were our privilege to be His companion in the wilderness and to accompany Him as He travels about the Palestine of America, what would be our observations?

As we watch Him kneeling in prayer, thin, hungry and emaciated after His long fast, we know that His mind is reverently thinking of Bethlehem and of Nazareth and of us. He remembers how He was born in the cradle of the laboring class. He is not forgetful of their struggle for life, their hardships, and their temptations.

Oh no! He glances into the windows of the sweat shops of the textile industry where men and girls are laboring forty-eight hours a week for twelve pitiless dollars. His cheeks grow wet with tears as He beholds the millions of His brothers, some of them working two or three days a week, others of them marshaled into the ever growing army of the unemployed as, sounding their requiem on the sidewalks of our city streets, they march on and on into the valley of doubt. The mists gather before Him as the ancient chorus of lamentation rises louder and louder. He is determined not to break the bruised reed of His flock; for they have been sheep without a shepherd. Not for all the wealth and the commerce of this world will He abandon them. It is His mission to be the Good Shepherd!

Thus, He mingles with the throngs of the mighty city, flesh of His flesh. He is determined that the blind shall see; the deaf shall hear; that bread shall be fed to the hungry. His doctrine of brotherhood shall be preached both to prince and to peasant. The poor shall have the Gospel preached to them. Sin and injustice must be driven from the face of America.

I am sure, my friends, that if this were the first year of Christ's public ministry you would find Him either in Central Park, New York City, or in Grant Park, Chicago, preaching His doctrine of the immortality of the soul, of the kingdom of heaven. Not one teaching which He enunciated nineteen hundred years ago would He omit. Not one promise would He forget. In vibrant, manly voice, knowing full well what it would cost Him, He would repeat the words: "*Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but he that shall swear by the precious gold of the temple is a debtor. Ye foolish and blind; whether it is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold. Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites who have left the weightier things of the law. You serpents, generation of vipers, how will you flee from the judgment of hell? Therefore I send to you prophets and wise men;*

and some of them you will put to death and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city; that upon you may come all the just blood that hath been shed upon the earth. Amen I say to you all these things shall come upon this generation."

Inflammatory, perhaps, are these words of Jesus Christ. Would to God they would inflame the hearts of those whose only interests are profits and gains, gold and bonds while they care not what heavy and unsupportable burdens they place upon the shoulders of their weaker fellowmen.

Today, my friends, I ask you to look across the vista of years. Behold not only Lincoln who for all time has endeared himself both to the oppressed and to those who seek liberty. More especially behold Jesus Christ Who came into this world that we should have life more abundantly. If of old He castigated those hypocrites who pauperized widows; who assailed such Pharisees who both imposed unburdenable taxes upon the shoulders of the poor and revered more the gold of the temple than they who prayed therein, so today, His voice would be courageous in speaking for the defense of the common man.

Such is the reason which impelled Pope Pius XI just last Monday, February 8th, according to the Associated Press Dispatch to suggest that *"the economic distress and the world unemployment problem should be subjects for Lenten preachers in the Catholic churches."*

Before venturing further both upon the difficulties of our burdensome taxation and the philosophy which motivates those who are constrained *"to swear by the gold rather than by those who pray in the temple,"* may I allude to the following principles:

It is the American home, the ultimate foundation upon which all our prosperity can ever hope to be built, with which I am interested. I view the home as an institution founded by Almighty God; an institution which pre-exists every State. It is the Catholic teaching that homes and they who dwell therein do not exist for the State. The State has been freely called into being by the heads of families for the sole purpose of protecting their rights, of furthering their prosperity and of guaranteeing them the pursuit of that happiness which eventually will be found in our common home beyond the grave where the titles of both king and president, senator and congressman shall cease to exist and where that eternal title of "Father" shall continue.

This is the teaching of Christianity. This is the same idea expressed by those who fashioned our Constitution. And this is the identical thought that burst forth anew from the lips of that Great Emancipator who not only abolished slavery in our southland but in principle re-established the doctrine that our government *"is of the people, by the people and for the people."* The people are not for the government.

Thus, if our present system of economics and of taxation is hostile in its activities towards the people of this or of any other country, that system must be changed and will be changed. God made the family and endowed it with inalienable rights. Man made the present system of greed, of favoritism and of oppression, which can be eliminated if the members of the American families shall interest themselves sufficiently to recover their Government from the unholy hands of the international bankers and profiteers.

Sinful Waste

Last Sunday I pointed out some of the destructive effects on the American home which result from the present theory of taxation. Today may I complement those remarks by pointing out some of the unreasonable waste for which our tax money is used.

In the year 1900 our federal tax was $650,000,000. In the short time since then we have increased annual expenditures until they now amount to something over $4,000,000,000—over 600% increase.

In 1900 the tax imposed upon the individual American citizen was merely $9.25. Today it costs every American citizen $40.00 to run the federal government.

Amazing increases have been recorded in the number of officials required to operate the various departments of our Federal Government. For example, in 1913 there were merely 8,788 employes in the Department of Commerce against 23,680 at this present moment.

In October, 1800, when our Capital was moved from Philadelphia to Washington there were only 54 persons on the pay roll of our Federal Government.

Today we have 10 major departments of government, 134 subsidiary bureaus and 35 independent establishments in the Government service. Six hundred and sixteen thousand, eight hundred and thirty-seven civil service employes as well as several hundred thousand non-civil service employes are engaged in the offices of the Federal Government.

This is a vast increase over the year 1922 at which time we had resolved to economize and stop extravagant expenditures. In that same year $16,000,000 had been appropriated for the Department of Commerce. But last year it was necessary to bestow $54,775,000 upon this same Department, much of which was to be used to extend our foreign trade. What a contradiction! The same Government almost in the identical breath passed enactment which kept foreigners from trading with us!

Last year approximately $20,000,000 was expended for the preparation and publishing of bulletins. One hundred million of these bulletins were printed, 40% of them being issued under the direction of the Department of Commerce and the Department of Agriculture. To quote the inimitable Senator Patrick Harrison: *"These bulletins contained advice and directions regarding everything from 'the essentials of a well planned kitchen' to the making of baskets out of pine needles.' They touch everything that is imaginable. They tell us that 'a folding lounge is the last word in relaxation,' and 'that the abdomen is the belly'."*

Let me cite a few of the striking bulletins which are being printed by the Government and for the continuance of which our tax rate is about to be raised.

Last year the Department of Agriculture issued a bulletin on "The Utilization of Calcium in Spinach." No doubt, that will relieve many farmers who are in financial distress.

"Lamb As You Like It." That is the title of another scientific tract which proposes to tell the housewives of the nation the way lamb should be cooked.

"Reindeer Recipes."

"Bringing Up Bobby." I am afraid the Department of Agriculture transgressed upon the domain of the Children's Bureau. Or perhaps, "Bobby" refers merely to a horse.

"The Use of the Metric System in Nutrition." That was a fine bulletin which fed the 8,000,000 unemployed citizens of our nation.

"Principles of Window Curtaining." That bulletin makes the great discovery that sometimes curtains are used to keep out the light and sometimes employed to retain privacy. Unless the paternalistic Government had given us that piece of information, I am afraid no one would have discovered it.

"Suits for the Small Boy." We are distributing these bulletins to clothe the naked children of Oakland County.

"How to Dress for a Sun Bath." To quote Senator Harrison who says: *"When I was a boy I did not dress for a sun bath but the Department of Agriculture tells us now how to do it."*

"Where Sheets Wear Out." No observation on this one required.

"A Study of Housing in Relation to Family Development." This is a document that tells us how to make the home comfortable. A valuable document in these days when so many hundreds of thousands of them are innocent of fire and of warmth. It even goes so far as to ask you which room is used for love making.

"Public Dance Halls."

"Canal Boat Children." This pamphlet informs us that there are 353 canal boat children in the United States. But the Government publishes a pamphlet of 21 pages; distributes some of its thousands throughout Kansas and Iowa where the good citizens never heard of a canal boat let alone of a canal boat child.

"Love Affairs of the American Bull Frog." Again let me quote Senator Harrison who says: *"I thought I knew something about frogs. When I was a boy I was their pal. But not until reading this bulletin did I realize some characteristics of the adventurous bull frog. It told how courageous he was, and that as he and his fair Juliet sat in the sun rays upon some old log in a lonesome river, at the first approach of footsteps or noise the gentleman frog would jump off ahead to notify his fair lady* *that she must get out of danger too. It gave me the very refreshing information that the gentleman frog only croaks or sings when he is in love."*

"How to Make a Cat Trap." This scientific contribution informs us that after you remove the cat from the cat trap, if you will get a sack and put it over his head, you can take him out to the river and drown him without his escaping or knowing anything about it.

"On Lightning Bugs." The title of this masterpiece is almost as important as if this same Government had issued an essay on "How to End the Depression."

One hundred million of such pamphlets were published during the past year and the vast majority of them were of no more importance and designed for no greater use than those which I have sampled for you.

Thousands upon thousands of clerks are employed in writing and mailing this paternalistic literature. Tons upon tons of it are franked free through our post office. And millions of dollars are exacted from the citizenry of the United States to continue a bureaucracy whose main purpose is to perpetuate a political organization. We are paying a tremendous price for keeping filled the modern 'pork barrel' of politics. And I might add that this innocent expenditure is entirely negligible to the millions of dollars wasted by the Department of Justice in its futile attempt to maintain reverence for the Volstead Act among a people who are openly protesting against the sinful waste of our national revenue.

Practically every community in every State of the Union has joined its voice in this protest. Affairs have reached such a pass that if the farmer and laborer and small home owner are further taxed to bear the unreasonable expenditures of a spendthrift government which had billions to bestow on foreigners and millions to sustain foreign banks from failing but not a penny for home—they have reached such a pass that immediate and drastic measures must be taken to prevent a calamity.

Remember that a government which cannot protect and preserve the homes of a nation has proven its uselessness. Further taxation spells further confiscation. And further confiscation is the back door to communism.

As I have said before more than 161,000 farms were confiscated last year for non-payment of taxes. In Oakland County where the Shrine of the Little Flower is situated and which, in one sense, is the bedroom of Detroit, more than 73,000 homesites passed back into the hands of the Government during the last ten months. And this out of a total population of about 211,000.

Meanwhile a nation is rightfully aroused. It has watched our Government enter into the wholesale grain and cotton business. For a short time it ventured into the shipping business. Today it has gone into the banking business despite the failure of the other two ventures. Its only solution for the difficulties which surround us is to enter further into the depths of Government control and State ownership.

The history of the past seventy-one years which will chronicle the events from the day of Lincoln to our own times shall not be complete unless a chapter of it will reveal the harrowing growth of bureaucracy for the maintenance of which the public moneys have been squandered and the national liberty has been jeopardized. All of this was accomplished for the ulterior motive of erecting the bulwarks of partyism; of establishing an army of hired troops and of waging a cruel war in which the common people have become the martyrs before the fusillade of billions of silver bullets on which is sacrilegiously written the inscription "In God We Trust." Stripped of its niceties; left naked in all its ugliness, it is worthy of no more dignified name than graft and racketeering—the same graft and racketeering which is found in the heart of the ward-heeler and in the soul of a Senator who would sell his birthright for a mess of Cuban sugar.

"Idiots"

And now may I speak of the underlying philosophy which has characterized the growth of bureaucracy and the legislation which accompanied it.

Although Wall Street has been turned into the American Monte Carlo, not one single piece of legislation has been passed either to discourage or to prevent gambling which in turn would prevent artificial inflation of prices.

Although the wealth of our nation and its prosperity both depend upon the laborer not a single bill has become law to protect him from being exploited by the capitalist.

Although the salvation of our nation depends upon the security of the American home, moratoriums were declared for foreign debts but not the slightest intimation of a moratorium has been declared for our domestic debts. Although the greatest sins which have caused our financial disaster have emanated from the international bond brokers and bankers, not one word of disapproval has been officially uttered condemning their deceiving tactics in bleeding the American public. On the contrary a $2,000,000,000 Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been established by our Government with which to feast the prodigal son as he returns home to America after having squandered his own and his brother's patrimony. But the American people as a whole are chided and reprimanded for hoarding money; for not running with their rescued savings to deposit them in banking institutions which over night have become houses of speculation and over whose doors are written the legend "Heads I Win and Tails You Lose."

Not until some legislation is passed which guarantees deposits; not until it is just as easy to get your money out of a bank as it it to put it into a bank shall hoarding cease or shall confidence be restored to a people whose intellects have been quickened by bitter experience.

Just last Wednesday, Judge Frank L. Doty in a report of his one man grand jury probe, with which by this time everybody in Michigan is acquainted, excoriated the State Savings Bank of Royal Oak for its glaring misdemeanors and misapplication of funds. His report says: *"There were many transactions in the Royal Oak Bank unethical to a high degree, and perhaps, deserving of punishment. But State Banking Statutes are so loosely drawn that they permit many acts by banking officials which should not be tolerated. In the great majority of cases discussed, the officers of the Royal Oak Bank kept within the letter of the law but not within the spirit."*

And the letter of the law in this State of Michigan permits stockholders in banks, even when they suspect that their institution is about to fail, to sell their worthless stock to innocent widows as was done in this case. The debts you owe the failing bank always remain. But the deposits you have within them vanish before the greed and ignorance of a Board of Directors.

Most certainly we will cease hoarding when laws are inscribed upon our statute books which will protect depositors from the gambling instincts of the bankers.

Now there must be some philosophic principle behind this inactivity to protect the common man and the zeal to protect the banking class. I wonder what the principle of the thing really is!

Last Friday afternoon (February 12th, 1932) I secured from the Detroit Public Library a collection of magazines bound in book form. It bore the name of "The Mining Magazine." It was edited by a Mr. T. A. Rickard and was published at Salisbury House, London, England.

Glancing through the issue for the month of May, 1912 A. D., I happened upon one of the most astounding articles ever composed by an ethical human being. It fully answered the perturbing question: *"What principle is at the bottom of the political inactivity to protect the common man and of the ardent zeal to protect the banking class?"*

The title of the article in this magazine to which I refer is *"The Economics of a Boom."* It fully exposes the code of morals regulating the relations between financiers and stockbrokers on the one side and their clients and investors on the other. Or, to put it in another way, the attitude of the promoters towards the promoted.

I dare say, that any important Public Library has a copy of this article, the author of which is none else than the President of the United States, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, who in 1912 and for many years was resident in the British Empire.

Before quoting for you the disturbing statement made by Mr. Hoover in this article, photostatic copies of which I have made, and legal proof for the book's existence having been fully established—before quoting for you the statement made by Mr. Hoover in May, 1912, and subscribed by him with his name, I had better explain that he wrote this article to *"The Mining Magazine"* to show how a mining project is financed and incidentally to moralize on the financial loss so often resulting to the gullible public who purchase stock in the mine.

In floating a mine, he tells us that there are three expenditures of money required. Of course, he writes in terms of English money. I will translate his language into terms of American money.

The first outlay of money is for the actual development and equipment and management of the mine which he presumes will amount to $500,000.

The second outlay of money is for the registration of the company, the directors' fees, the secretary, etc., all of which amounts to $25,000.

The third outlay of money is for brokers, jobbers and salesmen which approximates $75,000.

These three expenditures total $600,000.

Then Mr. Hoover goes on to explain that the mine is capitalized for a cool five million dollars. This last investment represents what the investing public pays. The promoters themselves use and spend only $600,000 of that amount.

From this point on, Mr. Hoover moralizes. Assuming that the entire mining venture is an absolute failure and proves to be nothing more than an empty bubble, he writes the following most incomprehensible words which I am quoting exactly as they are found in "*The Mining Magazine*" of May, 1912, and which I have on the desk beside me as I read.

He says: "*It is quite possible that the Blank mine may be capitalized at a million pounds* ($5,000,000) *and that the Insiders may sell the shares to the Outsiders at that figure, but the* 880,000 *pounds* ($4,400,000) *representing the difference—if we assume that the mine should fail absolutely—is not itself an economic loss. It simply means that this much of the national wealth was transferred from one individual to another. . . . Further, from an economic point of view this* 880,000 *pounds* ($4,400,000) *of capital in the hands of the Insiders is often invested to more reproductive purpose than if it had remained in the hands of the idiots who parted with it.*"

"Idiots who parted with it!" "Idiots!" I hang on that word "idiots." It is a word to conjure with—I-D-I-O-T-S—"idiots."

In 1912 Mr. Herbert Hoover termed as "idiots" those people who would listen to the suave, salesman talk of promoters who by deceit and subterfuge coaxed money from widows as was done here in Royal Oak and elsewhere to invest with many mining ventures which were failures before they started.

At that date, 1912, he termed as "idiots" simple people who would save their money but who were convinced to part with it so that the "Insiders" as he calls them, could reap $4,400,000 profit on an investment, as the "Outsiders" acquired for their portion nothing more than a scrap of paper known as mining stock. And he adds this *"is not itself an economic loss. It simply means that this much of the national wealth was transferred from one individual to another"* where it *"is often invested to more reproductive purpose than if it had remained in the hands of the idiots who parted with it."*

My friends, we are deeply indebted for this shocking piece of information. We now know the philosophy at the bottom of modern progress. We are now taught that it is quite moral and just to filch money from innocent "Outsiders" and pass it into the soft hands of the guilty "Insiders," where it can be used to better advantage. It is the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy that says: *"That to everyone that hath shall be given: and from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken from him."*

Of course, I would not stultify myself to stand before this microphone without being positive and absolutely certain of what I have quoted.

This, my friends, is the same philosophic theory which has been in vogue in this and in other countries during the past few years. The "Outsiders" exist for the "Insiders," so they believe. It is absolutely ethical to exploit the investing class and the laboring class because the money is better off in the hands of the promoting class. It is quite ethical to protect the banks and the financiers. But it is foolish to protect the depositors and the over confident investors—the "idiots"!

This is the philosophy condemned by the Catholic Church. This is the oppression referred to by Leo XIII and Pius XI. This is what was intimated last week when the Head of our Church invited every priest during the Lenten Services to preach upon the "*economic distress, the world unemployment problem and the other issues common to all countries.*"

No wonder we have lived to see the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few! As Pius XI says: "*This concentration of power . . . is a natural result of limitless free competition which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest, which often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience.*"

To quote the same Pius XI: "*The sacred law is violated by an irresponsible wealthy class, who, in the excess of the good fortune, deem it a just state of things that they should receive everything and the laboring class nothing. . . .*"

The same Holy Pontiff continues by saying: "*This concentration of power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic world itself; then there is the fierce battle to acquire control of the government so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggle; and finally there is the clash between states themselves.*"

Can you not see, my friends, how this threefold struggle has eventuated and how it is being enacted under your very eyes?

The world about us is facing the sordid, burning facts of unemployment, of starvation, of unjust taxation. Let those who sit in the seats of the mighty also face the fact that civilization is rising against those false philosophies which predicate that the citizen exists for the State, that the many exist for the few, and that the "Outsiders" exist for the "Insiders." The hypodermic needle of propaganda has been emptied. No longer can the people who love their homes and love their country be lulled into inaction by the idle optimism of the sleek parasites who exist on the crumbs dropped from the advertising table of calloused conscienced exploiters.

Thus, throughout the centuries the gospel of the brotherhood of Christ is assailed by vicious philosophies which, from time to time, raise their pernicious heads to preach a doctrine that "might is right;" that the "Outsider" exists for the benefit of the "Insider;" that the weak are to be devoured by the strong.

But on a day like this, still identified with the hallowed memory of one who, like Christ, was born in the cradle of poverty, hope springs eternal in the human heart that the morals of the Master shall survive the attacks arising from the immoralities of His faithless followers.

On a day like this, so replete with the memories of Lincoln, we can both recall his life, his sufferings, his preachments and his pathway which hewed so closely to the line of duty.

Thus, my friends, come in spirit with me and take your stand before this mighty monument in our Nation's Capital. Behold the Great Emancipator! Gaze upon him whose only party was the people's welfare; whose only opponents were fanatical extremists and the entrenched forces of wealth and property which could see only their interests and which cared little for the fate of their fellow countrymen.

"He dreams in brooding bronze; it almost seems
A word, a touch, would kindle into flame
The spark of life in that gaunt metal frame
And light those somber eyes with living gleams.

"Yet as he patient vigil keeps and dreams
Deep in the shrine erected to his fame,
Glib tongues invoke the magic of his name
To purge a party and promote its schemes.

"Oh, wake, immortal heart, and breathe again
Thy pulse of mercy into lesser men!
That pulse that beat in anguish for the slave,
That gave its own lifeblood to heal and save!—
And shame those hollow hearts that praise thee dead
And praising, would deny thy people bread!"

—By George S. Holmes.

A Tribute to Washington

I.

THE story of "The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire" pictures for us both the heights and the depths which human nature can attain. In the beginning the hardy Cincinnatus bending over his plow typified the virtues of rugged manliness which in later years under the bloody Nero were supplanted by the vices of pagan selfishness.

At another period of history we find the City of Corinth not only practicing vice but philosophizing upon its merit. Strewn down the ages are the martyred corpses of virtue. The ideals of yesterday become the targets of today's ridicule. Plain living and plain thinking constantly are being assailed both by the artificialities of life and by the organized sophistries of those who would change its principles. Step by step with the decay there has been observed the passing of patriotism.

The virtue of patriotism is closely related to the virtue of love. From time immemorial love has shone resplendently in the human heart. Love for the God Who created us and love for the country within whose confines men have grown to manhood and in whose soil their bones shall be interred—these virtues, innate in the human heart, have been the fountainhead of all the joys of life. Their opposites are the poisoned springs from which flow the tears of disappointment and distress, of ruin and desolation.

The records of history are eloquent in bearing out this fact. Nations rise to greatness by following the pathways of love. These same nations sink into oblivion by forsaking their God, their homes and their love of country.

To be a practical Catholic one can neither turn his back upon his Creator or his parents or his country. He must render to God the things that are God's. He must give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

This afternoon, the hallowed eve of his birthday, who is the Father of our Country, it is my privilege to address you on the virtue of patriotism.

Two hundred years will have passed tomorrow since George Washington of immortal memory was born at Bridges Creek in Westmoreland County, Virginia. At the age of sixteen he had charge of the survey of the Lord Fairfax Estate in the Shenandoah Valley. So well did he accomplish this work that he was appointed public surveyor.

Thus commenced the public career of him to whom we dedicate this brief broadcast hour, and in whose life are crystallized all the elements of patriotism and of flawless Americanism.

In turn Washington was a frontiersman and soldier, legislator, soldier again, and finally statesman.

At the outbreak of the war between the colonies and the mother country he was in the Virginia Legislature. Shortly thereafter he was elected Commander in Chief of the Army.

During the desperate years which followed, his life was filled with dramatic moments which are known to all of us—Valley Forge; crossing the Delaware; rallying the troops at Monmouth; the surrender at Yorktown and in 1783 his farewell to his officers. The war was terminated. The colonies were free. From this moment we behold George Washington as the statesman. Here again certain dramatic events stand preeminently in our minds; he takes his place in the Constitutional Convention. His inauguration as our first President, his re-election, and his refusal of a third term; his farewell address, and finally his retirement. His great career closed with his death, December 14, 1799.

One hundred and thirty-two years have passed yet he remains the greatest single influence in our national lives. As he was to the people then, so he is to us now—"first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Thus, there is no more propitious moment than the present to recollect the principles of patriotism. It is a virtue common to all men. Briefly, it is defined as the love of one's fatherland. It is a peculiar love which endears to us the hillsides and valleys, the lakes and the streams where we spent the carefree days of boyhood. With patriotism are identified the humble home with its ivy-clad walls, the precious smile of a loving mother, the boon companionship of a fearless father.

Patriotism, like a rainbow of promise, extends its beauteous arc through the rain clouds of life as it weaves together in colors sublime the companions of our school days, the friendships formed in our youth and the imperishable love sealed in our manhood. It bends into the golden cradle where baby arms are waiting for us. It sinks like a crimson sunset into the graves of those who have gone before us. Patriotism is nothing more and nothing less than a vagrant ray of God's love which enshrines within our hearts every clod and every flower; every heart and soul which have endeared themselves to us in life's brief day!

But more than that, patriotism is identified with the consecrated laws of God and of man which protect the land we love and those who dwell therein. It is the stimulant which wreathes a father's face in smiles as he labors tirelessly behind the plowshare or suffers heroically in trench or on battlefield. It is the past speaking in all its eloquence to the present. It is the present laboring with all its intelligence and might for the perfection of the future. At one moment patriotism is expressed in the death of him who lays down his life for his friends. At another, it is manifest in him who lives for his children. But at all times for Americans it is symbolized in the silken folds of the Stars and Stripes which are unfurled both in storm and in sunshine, in the winter of distress, and in the summer of prosperity.

Such, my friends, is my brief conception of patriotism—a virtue which can not endure unless it is wedded to love of God and love of your fellowman.

On the heart of every human being these principles have been inscribed by the finger of our Creator. Yet each nation possesses peculiar and specific traditions which do not contradict but which fulfil the concept of patriotism, which differentiate it from that of other countries, and identify it with its own. Thus, on this day, while we pause to thank Almighty God for having given to us the noble soul and the pure heart of Washington to be the Father of our Country, I can think of no better way to define American patriotism than to pronounce it with the words which he employed in his "Farewell Address".

Bear with me, I pray, while I read to you several portions from this most memorable document. They are words from the past without heeding which our future shall be lost in despair.

The text which I am about to read for you was copied exactly from the final draft given by Washington himself to Mr. Claypoole, his printer, and which first appeared in the news journal known as "Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser", September 19, 1796.

Washington is retiring from public life. As if envisioning those of us who have gathered about our receiving sets this afternoon he says in his "Farewell Address": *"A solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection . . ., and which appear to me of importance for the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom,"* so he continues, *"as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel."*

The first admonition, my friends, which Washington gives us is to preserve our unity of Government. Of this unity he says: *"It is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, and your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But it is easy to foresee,"* continues he, *"that from different causes and from different quarters many pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth. This is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively directed."*

Like a prophet, my friends, Washington foresaw the crimson days of the Civil War when enemies both within and without traitorously attempted to disrupt the Union consecrated by our forefathers. Speaking of this same adherence to our national unity he says: *"Citizens, by birth or by choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections"* —as if he visualized those who prostituted their affections to other nations under the specious sophistry of the brotherhood of man. In one sentence, with rapier-like intelligence, he impaled the heresy of internationalism and gave his benediction to uncompromising patriotism.

He was not forgetful why his own ancestors and their companions forsook the inhospitable shores of Europe. He well perceived that friendliness with foreign nations did not imply the sacrifice of patriotic principles. As he pronounced these words which I have just read to you he remembered the hunger of

Valley Forge, the piercing cold of the Delaware and the ten thousand sacrifices which he and his companions suffered for the purpose of disentangling this country once and for all from the meshes of European politics and intrigues and adherences.

Washington was no immigrant. Four generations of his ancestors were raised on the soil of this country. Like all the early settlers they carried with them bitter memories of burning persecution. French Huguenots had been driven out of France. Irish Catholics had escaped the terror of a "bloody Mary". English Puritans sought refuge on these shores from the hand of a tyrant. Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia—every colony in America had been populated by pioneers who forsook their homelands in Europe to face danger and privation rather than become victims of hate, of international strife and of religious bigotry.

Earnestly he begs of us, to speak his identical words, that we "*must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments—broils which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce and which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.*"

These are words, my friends, which produce a crimson blush upon the cheeks of those who are attempting to entangle us interminably with foreign nations, and by their sophistries; by their greed and love of gold are endeavoring to nullify the mighty sacrifices made by our ancestors. Forgetful of the motives which induced the American pioneer to face the wilderness and the hardships of this country rather than bear the burden of European servility and militarism; unmindful of this last will and testament bequeathed to us by the Father of our Country, we have lived to see the day when arrogant upstarts have attempted to discard the virtue of patriotism and in its stead substitute the damnable heresy of internationalism.

The second admonition contained in Washington's "Farewell Address" precautions us against lobbyists and excessive partyism.

These are the days, my friends, when not only do we find Senators and Congressmen representing powerful interests although they have been elected to represent the people of their district, but days also when the White House and the Capitol are surrounded by powerful lobbies which exist to influence by their minority opinion and tainted gold the deliberations of our legislators.

On such a day as this I need not become too specific in reciting the names of the multiple lobbies which infest the sacred precincts of that city named after the Father of our Country. I shall be satisfied in citing but one instance. Thus, I quote from the opening paragraph of the biography of Wayne B. Wheeler of prohibition fame. His publicity secretary, Justin Steuart, writes as follows: *"Wayne B. Wheeler controlled six Congresses; dictated to two Presidents of the United States; directed legislation in most of the States of the Union; picked the candidates for the more important elective State and Federal offices; held the balance of power in both the Republican and Democratic parties; distributed more patronage than any other dozen men; supervised a federal bureau from outside without official authority; and was recognized by friend and foe as the most masterful and powerful single individual in the United States."*

Openly does Mr. Steuart, the publicity secretary of Wayne B. Wheeler, admit of this disease called lobbyism, the infection from which has spread throughout the veins and arteries of our nation.

And what does the Father of our Country say in condemnation of this practice so brazenly upheld by the so-called patriots who have disregarded his last will and testament?

Here are his words exactly as he composed them: *"All obstructions to the execution of the laws,"* says Washington, *"all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, namely,* (*the power and right of the people to establish government*), *and are of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of the party, often a small but artful enterprising minority of the community and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties to make the public administration* *the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels and motivated by mutual interests."*

So spoke Washington as with prophetic eye he envisioned the Wayne Wheelers who boasted of dominating both Republican and Democratic Parties, of controlling six Congresses and of dictating to two Presidents of the United States.

These are immortal words which indicate to us of this generation that we must not put party above patriotism. First, we are Americans. And as in Washington's time, so also in our own it is our patriotic duty to desert a so-called party whose policies have consisted, to use Washington's thought, in showing a fondness for foreign countries forgetful of the misery and the heartaches in their own.

Clearly defined in his analysis of American patriotism Washington stresses the necessity of religion. There is no one who can question his outstanding intelligence. No one dare impute to him the disgrace of effeminacy. Of all Americans he was most desirous of our national prosperity and personal happiness. And to attain these blessings he commended to us, his children, the necessity of adhering strictly to the principles of religion if we claim to possess, even in a minor degree, the virtue of patriotism. His words on this subject are clear and decisive. He says in this same "Farewell Address": *"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. . . . Let it simply be asked, 'Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?' And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. . . .*

"It is substantially true," continues he, *"that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. . . . Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"*

No commentary whatsoever, my friends, is required on these words which this, the Father of all Patriots, has spoken to his children.

In quickly rehearsing the contents of this famous document, time will not permit me to touch except passingly upon the counsels bequeathed to us by him whose birthday we celebrate. In it is contained advice to those who would build up credit mountain high and dissipate it carelessly. He warns the Secretary of the Treasury and all bankers and every citizen, in fact that "*as a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible.*" And we have lived to see the day when it has been used as if it were as common as the sands of the sea!

To the ultra-pacifist he says: "*Remember that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it.*"

To the rabid militarist he advises: "*Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all.*"

To the philandering internationalists he insists: "*That passionate attachments for other nations should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.*"

In this address Washington issued his memorable warning with respect to the United States forming entangling alliances with foreign powers. Speaking of these attachments to foreign nations he reminds us that they are "*particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot.*" "*How many opportunities,*" continues he, "*do they afford to tamper with domestic facts, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinions, to influence or awe the public counsels. . . .*

"*Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake. . . .*

"*The great rule of conduct for us, in respect to other nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connections as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.*"

Seventeen hundred and ninety-six! Nineteen hundred and thirty-two! How far afield have we wandered from this advice:

"Here let us stop!" I dare not on this sacred day commemorate for you the growth of internationalism and the decadence of that patriotism enacted in our midst by those who have followed so disgracefully in the footsteps of our Washington.

"*Why,*" asked Washington, "*quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?*"

"Why," asks the international banker, "shall we not jettison Washington's 'Farewell Address' and his absurd counsels into the depths of the Delaware?"

In a few minutes, my friends, I shall return to the microphone to recite for you the "Funeral Oration" spoken by Major General Henry Lee on the occasion of Washington's death. But before departing at this moment may I conclude these remarks in reading for you the following paragraph from the "Farewell Address."

These are Washington's words: *"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated."*

The story of "The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire" shall some day be changed to "The Rise and Fall of the American Republic". In one hundred and thirty-two short years the principles enunciated by Washington have been weighed in the balance of practice only to be cast aside in many instances by those in whose heart not the virtue of patriotism but the vice of selfishness reigns supreme.

Thus, today, my fellow citizens, let us not be so unphilosophic as to think that every change which has eventuated within these last one hundred years or so has been dedicated to progress. Change is often synonymous with decay.

As we look back through the mist of the years upon the stately figure of George Washington; as we recapture the echo of his words in which were phrased his parting admonitions to be followed by us his children, we are inclined to pause upon life's highway; we are impelled to ask ourselves the question: "*Are not progress and prosperity to be discovered in the principles of the past rather than in the heresies of the present?*"

Come then, my fellow citizens! Let us retrace our steps to the colonnades of Mount Vernon. As pilgrims let us kneel in the shadow of that sacred shrine to bespeak our act of contrition for having played the part of prodigal sons. We shall add to this prayer the determination, insofar as we are citizens, to follow in his footsteps; to build the future upon his policies; and to look with suspicion upon the patriotism of those who seek after the novelty of internationalism under the pretext that modern science has welded us closer together. In truth, the argument of modern science determines us to cling closer to our own unity and to foster more jealously our own patriotism.

It is true that nations have passed away first having dressed up their vices in the garments of virtue. It is true that every intelligent patriot foresees the day when his country shall follow the long course traced by those which have preceded it.

I recall the historic days when the international minded Napoleon was bent on destroying all nationality. Every nation in Europe trembled before that scourge of God. From London, William Wordsworth spoke out bravely a condemnation of the spirit which was undermining England and preparing her to become the next victim of the Corsican. Lamenting the unpatriotic spirit which predominated amongst the leaders of his own day, and addressing himself to the heroes of the past, he says:

> "The wealthiest man among us is the best . . .
> . . . Rapine, avarice, expense,
> This is idolatry; and these we adore.
> Plain living and high thinking are no more.
> . . . Altar, sword and pen,
> Fireside . . . have forfeited their dower.
> Oh! raise us up, return to us again."

As a true American I am sure that I voice the sentiment of the majority of this audience as I repeat these words to the spirit of Washington: "Oh! raise us up, return to us again."

Come, my fellow countrymen, arouse yourselves to action! As you look forward for better days to come, reach back into the holy past. Hold fast to the traditions of your ancestors rather than to the novelties of gold-seeking prostitutes! Back to God and morality! Build up a unity among your broken ranks! Stamp out the curse of the lobbyist. Hold high your banner of liberty. And learn to kiss with reverence the flag of your birth or of your adoption which is more sacred to us than the figmentary ties which bind us to the allegiance of an unfaithful political party. The spirit of Washington still leads us on. Valley Forge and its sufferings shall pass away. The Delaware of discontent shall be crossed, and, please God, may you and I both live to see the day when once more America shall be for the Americans and that our country shall be *"of the people, by the people and for the people"*.

Thus, my friends, were I gifted with a magic wand, I would roll back the calendar of time for you to the year 1783. I would take you on the wings of fancy to Fraunce's Tavern in New York. It is the month of December. There is Washington seated about the festive board with his leading officers who had suffered hunger and cold and privation with him. Solemnly stands the Father of our Country. Solemnly he speaks to those, his brothers in arms.

Listen! You can hear his words reverberating down the corridor of time! *"With a heart full of love and gratitude I must now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable. . . . I shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand."*

Fellow countrymen, you have heard the echo of his words. Because you are an American child of his there is extended to you at this moment alongside your receiving set the holy hand of one who lived for God and country. His hand clasps your hand. It is the story of civilization, the pact of the living with the dead! It is ours to hold fast to the tradition.

I shall conclude this brief and halting tribute to one whose name shall outlast the Stars and Stripes which wave above us by reading for you Lincoln's estimate of Washington. Of him Lincoln said: *"Washington's is the mightiest name of earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in civil reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It can not be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let no one attempt it. In solemn awe we pronounce the name, and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shine on!"*

Up is Down! East is West!

An Observation

FROM earliest childhood we have been taught to associate the location of hell somewhere below us. Evil things are downward things. Good things have an upward trend.

Whether hell is up or down we do not really know. But we do know that it is not a desirable place. And knowing this we give it a definite location on the map of our moral geography—"down"—because we associate all evil as things that are below us and all good as things above us.

Death, the ultimate of all evil is identified with a hole in the ground.

Moreover, it is always easy to go downward.

Downwards always is the direction to the sunless canyons. Upwards we must ever labor over rocks and crags to gain the summit of the sun-clear mountains.

Did you ever pause to analyze the philosophy of the radical? It is totally summarized by the one word—"down." "Down with religion!" "Down with the principles of Christ!" "Down with the Constitution of our country!" All these expressions signify the single thought that a radical is determined to consign all things to hell because hell is the termination of all downward tendencies.

Speaking in terms of up and of down, or in similar terms of east and of west reminds me that if an inhabitant of Shanghai digs deeply enough he will go down so far that he will start to come up. Or if a traveler leaving New York travels eastward far enough he will soon find himself going westward.

In no sense do I insinuate that goodness and badness are relative terms. Nor do I mean that too much goodness degenerates into badness. I simply mean that virtue holds to a middle path; and to forsake it either on the right or the left will lead you into vice; into excess or into defect. I mean that a man can become a radical by clinging too tenaciously to his unreasonable conservatism. He can go up so far that he will discover himself coming down. He can go east so far on his voyage of political thought that he will discover himself going west.

Trend of the Times

During these last years this very thing has happened in American politics. In their anxiety to avoid adopting the principles of radical socialism, our legislators have accomplished more for the extreme socialists than had these latter themselves been in power.

Have we not witnessed the spectacle of our Government's entering into business? The relief measures for the benefit of banks, corporations and railroads have broken all precedent. In their extreme conservatism to go east, for the purpose of upholding high finance, they have discovered themselves going west, straight into the arms of radicalism.

Senator Borah referring to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation said the administration has gone *"socialistic"*. He did not complain. He merely stated a fact.

And not one of the Senators dared to question it.

Senator Hiram Johnson, speaking of the same act, said: *"There never was such an act passed in the history of any nation on the face of the earth in peace time. I challenge contradiction of that statement."* And no one accepted the challenge.

A writer in the *Magazine of Wall Street*—an openly avowed financial magazine—upheld these Senators with the following remarks: *"It should be clearly understood that both the program outlined and the frankly inflationary measures that may be later adopted are socialistic."*

Then speaking on the floor of the Senate to his colleagues Mr. Johnson further added: *"Socialism you have embraced in what you have done. I am not frightened of it in the necessity that exists, but since you have made your adventure into socialism in behalf of banks and railroads, let us take a step just over the line in behalf of men and women and children who need governmental aid."*

These things, my friends, I mention merely to show you the trend of the times. Up has become down. East is west. And financial conservatism has evolutionized into financial socialism.

Our Aim

During this broadcasting season I have advocated but two things. The first is a return to the religion of our forefathers.

The second is a return to the principles upon which our nation was founded by Washington and was preserved by Lincoln.

It is a return to these two things under the leadership of thoughtful men that will preserve us from the destruction which is inevitable if we persist in following our present course. Most certainly we cannot continue as we are.

We have come to the forks of the road in America. The Seventy-Second Congress will decide which way we are to go.

We shall stabilize poverty and breed revolution.

Or we shall stabilize prosperity and legislate justice.

It is for Congress to decide. Independent of expediency; careless of personal results; and courageous to speak the truth despite the Damoclean sword of special interests which hangs over their heads, our Congressmen must cease playing the part of five-dollar-a-week office boys who are skilled in nothing more than grinding out on the talking machine of politics the record of the special interests whom they represent. Let them become leaders as they are supposed to be. Let them speak from convictions founded upon justice and truth or else be men enough to abdicate their thrones in the kingdom of rubber stampdom.

Loyalty to the people of the United States and to the demands of justice is more important than fictitious loyalty expended upon preserving the policies which have been practiced during the last few years.

What does loyalty to the people of the United States entail? Primarily, it demands that we hew close to the line marked so clearly by our Constitution and as interpreted by the founders of our nation. Primarily, it is associated with the thought that the causes which have generated our present chaotic situation and the seven major depressions which have preceded it during the past fifty years must be eliminated if there are to be such things as the rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness.

If we have entangled ourselves financially in foreign nations to the extent of thirty-one billion dollars due to the fact that foreign investments have been cultivated and sponsored by the international banksters and gangsters of this country; if these foreign investments have been made more advantageous than our local investments, this thing must be eliminated in the future: American money earned by the sweat of American brows must work primarily for the welfare of American people.

Birth of Inter-Financialism

During the past twenty years, such a quantity of American gold has been either loaned or invested abroad, that we are entangled almost hopelessly with the destinies of foreign nations and have been forced through this policy to forego much of our nationalism in favor of internationalism.

It is not a policy which has merely grown through accident. Money was paid to propagate its doctrine throughout our nation. The Benedict Arnolds of high finance had a definite plan in mind. Do you doubt this statement? Well, pause for a moment while we weigh its veracity on the scales of fact.

As far back as the year 1893 in a book written by the late Andrew Carnegie named *"Triumphant Democracy"* published by Charles Scribner's Sons, we discover an illuminating thought upon this subject of foreign investments and internationalism. (The same Andrew Carnegie who established $244,192,528 to propagate his ideas.)

I am not planning to quote from this pernicious book, for the purpose of creating ill will or ill feelings towards our neighbors, the Canadians, or towards the residents of the British Empire. I am quoting it as they, too, would quote it, were it written by one of their fellow citizens for the purpose of destroying their nationalism.

On pages 548 and 549 of this book, *"Triumphant Democracy"* we read the following which lays bare the philosophy of the entire movement. It says:

> *"Readers will kindly note that this is A Look Ahead . . . and some time, somehow, it will come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith, the faith of the devotee which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfillment.*
>
> *"Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked-for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed forever.*

> *"Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state, 'The British-American Union'."*

Mr. Carnegie, representing those Benedict Arnolds who since have conspired with him to bring about the destruction of our nationalism and the union of our nation with England, (they who would nullify in every sense the sufferings of Valley Forge and the War of Independence) continues in the same book to say the following:

> *"When the union is restored it will be upon the basis of uniting also the national debts as they stand, and making all a common obligation of the Union, so that the United Kingdom (Great Britain) would be relieved at once of the greater portion of its national debt, and of at least one-half of all its present heavy taxation."*

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Carnegie has passed, I hope, to his reward. But the policy engendered by this international banker in the minds of his fellow financiers has been developed step by step until in our day we have witnessed our administration rushing to loan $825,000,000 to sustain the tottering bank of England and not eight hundred and twenty-five cents to preserve from failing the thousands of banks of our own nation which succumbed to the onslaught of the depression. And as a climax, it has become necessary to move the greatest Secretary of our Treasury since Hamilton from Washington to London in order to care for our tremendous foreign loans—loans which I prophecy, will be repudiated if not in their entirety, at least in part before this time next year. Carnegie's prediction will come true. England and Europe will be freed from half their taxation. And we, the colonists, will bear the burden!

We have no quarrel with England or with any other nation. For them we have the greatest respect. But we have a quarrel with the dastardly attempt made on the part of those who would denationalize us and, in their greedy radicalism, lead us into the back door of international communism. They have gone east so far that they have discovered themselves going west!

The patriotic Englishman is so filled with courage and selfrespect that he resents the idea of our paying his debts. And it is time that the patriotic American is advised of the subtle treachery which has been carried on in our midst.

Thus, if it is possible to place a heavy export tax upon certain precious commodities, it is likewise possible to impose a similar tax upon the exportation of American money which, too often, has been used to build up foreign competition; which, too often, has resulted in the closing down of our own factories; and which too often has been indirectly responsible in conscripting the world's largest army—the army of the American unemployed.

The Seventy-Second Congress has certainly come to the fork in the roads. It must of necessity scuttle the last vestiges of internationalism. It must rescue our country from the Carnegies and the Benedict Arnolds of finance. But added to that there are other tremendous problems to be solved.

If a system which has permitted the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few has grown to such a colossal magnitude that the purchasing power of forty million people in this nation has been destroyed and that the effects of it have weighed like a leaden cross upon the shoulders of almost one hundred million of our population, this evil must be confronted so that the real hoarders of wealth and of credit shall be forced to relinquish their death-hold upon the throat of American prosperity.

If a system of taxation is in vogue which, during the past few years, has multiplied its exactions upon us almost five times and which is leaving behind it a trail of broken hearts and confiscated homes, that system must be rejected immediately because there can be no stability and not much loyalty left in a citizenry towards a government who like a Shylock is ever rapping upon your door to demand its pound of flesh and the indirect destruction of your home.

If all wealth and prosperity are indissolubly united to labor; if the livelihood of the vast majority of our citizens depends upon their constant, steady work, it is the business of a just government to provide every wage earner who is willing to work an opportunity to exercise his God-given right.

Governments exist primarily to protect human rights and not financial rights. Governments are for the people and not for the colleagues of Carnegie!

These are some of the thoughts which are in the minds of millions of our people today. And these are problems which our legislators have either failed to face or else in their un-Christian philosophy (which is expressed in the thought that the "Outsiders" exist for the "Insiders") have deemed to be unworthy of their attention.

Senator LaFollette Speaks

What has the Federal Government attempted to legislate during this period of depression? Let me quote for you the answer to this question as given by Senator Robert LaFollette in the United States Senate during this afternoon of February 2nd.

> *"In 1929 industrial activity in the United States began gradually to decline. On a certain black Thursday in October, 1929, there came a crash on the stock exchange. The first recognition of this problem was by the President of the United States, who issued a statement to the effect that conditions were 'fundamentally sound'. It failed to check the stock market decline; and when Congress met in December, 1929, there was proposed the first remedial measure to check the most serious economic depression of modern times.*
>
> *"I wonder if Senators have forgotten what it was. It was brought forward at that time as a solution. It was a proposal to reduce the taxes of income-tax payers to the tune of* $160,000,000! *The Progressives fought the measure. We maintained the money would be needed for relief, but we were told that we did not understand the depression. Democrats and Republicans contended that the depression was psychological in character. They argued the passage of the bill to reduce income taxes by* $160,000,000 *would so 'psychologize' the situation that the fall in security and commodity prices and the increase of unemployment would be checked.*
>
> *"On the floor of the Senate the Senator from Utah (Mr. Smoot) admitted that no person could tell whether that tax reduction would produce a deficit in the Treasury or not; but Senators upon both sides of the aisle supported the proposal to reduce by* $160,000,000 *the amount paid by the income-tax payers in the United States.*

"Following that the Congress and the administration refused to recognize the gravity of the crisis. With indications of mounting unemployment in this country, finally, in March, 1930, the President of the United States issued his now justly famous statement that after a careful investigation—I do not quote his language, but I give the substance of it—he had come to the conclusion that within 60 days unemployment in this country would be so drastically reduced that it would no longer be a serious problem.

"In the short sessions of 1930-31 there was adopted, as an amendment to an appropriation bill, a provision for $25,000,000 *to be given to the Red Cross for the purpose of providing food, clothing, and medicines to those who were destitute and unable to secure those provisions otherwise. Finally the amendment was eliminated from the bill.*

"Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1931, as provided in the Constitution. During the next few months appeals were made to the President of the United States to convene Congress in extraordinary session in order that there might be a consideration of all the various aspects of the economic crisis. The appeals were unheeded and we met in regular session on the first Monday of last December.

"Immediately there was ready for the consideration of Congress the major portion of the President's so-called reconstruction program, namely, the bill creating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. After hearings which lasted four days, the Banking and Currency Committee hurriedly reported the bill to the floor of the Senate. It was taken up and jammed through under whip and spur.

"The objective of that measure was to provide up to $2,000,000,000 *of credit, furnished by the people of the United States, to stem the tide of bankruptcy, of railroad receiverships, of bank failures. In other words, the Congress of the United States and the administration, with hardly any consideration, passed through and enacted the Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure for the relief of those who are interested in these corporations, insurance companies, and banks.*

"Two billion, one hundred and sixty million dollars has already been provided by the Congress and the administration during this depression for the relief of those who own property and securities in the United States. Now, when it is proposed that the Congress shall give consideration to a measure providing for the relief of those in the United States who, through no fault of their own, find themselves destitute, cold, hungry, and homeless, the contention is raised that there is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate the necessity for Federal action in this crisis.

"It has been the traditional policy of the Federal Government of the United States to come to the assistance of citizens, who through no fault of their own, were suffering from disaster and were unable to provide for their sustenance and relief."

Between the year 1827 and 1927 fifteen distinct contributions were made by the United States Government for this purpose.

But in the year 1932 when there was proposed the Costigan-LaFollette bill to provide $375,000,000 for the purpose of relieving the destitute and of assisting local organizations which already have broken down in this laudable work, it was voted down in our Senate.

Ancient and Modern

This is no place to discuss the wisdom of this decision.

Personally, I think that I am expressing both the Christian and the American viewpoint when I say that the people of this country do not want the so-called dole. They want work. They desire to retain their independence. They prefer to eat their meals in their own homes rather than stand in governmental bread lines.

But this incident carries me back in spirit to the days when the Roman Senators convened in august assemblage. They were confronted with a similar problem. The wealth of the empire had been concentrated in the hands of the few. The god of commerce, of banking and of wealth had been symbolized in the emperor whom they had deified.

But the streets of the great city of Rome were filled with jobless citizens and homeless slaves. Unrest was brewing in the minds of the populace. Perhaps, a Spartacus had been raising his voice to seek redress. Saints Peter and Paul had come to preach the brotherhood of man, the charity of Christ.

In vain had they told the story of Dives, the rich man, and of Lazarus, the beggar. In vain had they preached of the immortality of the soul and of that inevitable judgment which awaits each one of us.

For having dared to preach the sanctity of the Gospel of Christ, Peter was nailed to an upturned cross; Paul was beheaded!

Thus, the Roman Senators, serene in all their borrowed splendor, puffed up in the pride of their pagan philosophy, passed legislation not to provide work for the masses; not to guarantee either the sanctity or the permanence of their homes, but a temporary bill by which from the coffers of the Roman treasury the idle were fed bread and were amused with gladiatorial games.

At least these Senators were more humanitarian if not Christian than the so-called stand-patters to whom hundreds of facts were presented telling of the starvation of American people and before whom the information was laid that not only certain cities but also counties and states were practically bankrupt and were unable to take care of the essentials of life. The paganism of Rome was kinder to the poor than is the current paganism of America.

Just this week we read an excerpt from the "*Detroit News*" dated February 24th, that in the State of Arkansas 756 schools have shut their doors because their local communities can no longer afford to hire teachers or pay for their general up-keep.

Certainly we are in full accord with the anti-hoarding policy just enunciated by our administration. Would to God that it had been more extensive in its comprehension so that the mighty banking system of this country, which boasts of having more money on deposit now than at any other time in its history, would be forced to summarily cease its hoarding and that the Christian ideals latent in the hearts of our legislators will be forced out of hiding to light the way back to the principles from which we have strayed.

The real hoarding is concerned not so much with money as it is with these principles to which I refer.

More Philosophy!

These are days, my friends, in which we are much interested in the philosophy which generates policies and which in turn have begotten the misery of our present plight.

To throw some light upon one of the principles of political philosophy in vogue in this country may I recite for you an incident which recently transpired in the Senate Hall of the United States Government.

On the afternoon of February 10th, in the United States Senate, Senator Fess, who led the opposition to the Costigan-LaFollette Relief Bill, based his argument upon the fact that $375,000,000 should not be appropriated from Government funds to assist in feeding the destitute populace and their dependents because such a step would commit up to a precedent.

Senator Copeland questioned Senator Fess in these words: *"Is not this an emergency which is quite unlikely to happen very frequently in the history of our country?"*

And the answer which I take from the *Congressional Record*, page 3763, for February 10th reads as follows: *"The Senator knows that although a matter may be presented at one time as an emergency, when the emergency again arises the same thing will be presented."*

These words are cited, my friends, merely to point out the fact that no real effort has been made or is being made to eliminate the causes which are productive of such a so-called emergency. They anticipate that the thing will happen again!

The tragedy of the debate between Senator Fess, on the one side, and Senators Borah, LaFollette, and their associates, on the other, is not associated with the fact that the relief bill was defeated but rather with the astounding prospect that the same policies which have closed the schools of Arkansas; which have shut down the factories of the nation; which have destroyed the values of real estate; and which have pauperized forty million of our citizens, shall continue to be practiced, to be advocated and to seek the support of the voting public of America.

On page 3771 of the same *Congressional Record,* Senator Borah asks of Senator Fess, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the following question: *"Suppose the people were in actual hunger and the local authorities were unable to take care of them, does the Senator still say he would not appropriate money on the part of the Federal Government?"*

The reply which Senator Fess made reads as follows: *"If the local authorities are not able to do so; but if the local authorities refuse to do it, that is a different thing."*

The dialogue between the two Senators continues. Senator Borah asks: *"Suppose, then, that the local authorities are not taking care of them, that they are actually suffering, would the Senator still refuse to appropriate Federal money?"*

Mr. Fess responds by saying: *"I would. I would insist upon the local authorities doing their duty."*

Then Senator Borah rejoins with this statement: *"Mr. President, we seem to have the philosophy of the Senator from Ohio in all its naked and hideous ugliness. He takes the position that the National Government should not aid the suffering, the needy, the sick, and the diseased, even though the local government is not taking care of them."*

Reduced to simpler language this means that the people exist for the Government. It is contrary to Lincoln's doctrine that the Government is *"for the people"*. It is contrary to Christ's conception of simple charity and simpler justice. It is a philosophy under whose guidance this nation cannot subsist.

My friends, in its last analysis this entire question of wealth, of labor, of assisting the needy is resolved into the Christian doctrine which touches upon the right to private ownership.

As I have enunciated oftentimes, the Catholic Church stands foursquare behind the principle of the Commandment of God which tells us *"Thou shalt not steal"*. In this Commandment there is implied the right to private ownership. And in this Commandment there is implied the prohibition of the exploitation of the laborer.

According to the Catholic philosophy taught down the ages from the time of St. Basil the Great, and later on through the angelic lips of Thomas of Aquin; and again when this same doctrine was restated by Leo XIII and our present Pius XI, the principle was laid down that although there is a right to private ownership that right does not argue or imply that the owner may use his goods unreasonably. Private ownership is not identified by any means with unrestricted private use.

The law of self-preservation which includes every governmental and every other law counts as more sacred those rights which are called human rights before which must bend in service and in submission the rights known as property rights.

That is the moral question of the age. Upon that hinges every discussion regarding the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. Around it cluster the thoughts of patriotism, of the rights to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

Benedict Arnold

My friends, we have been spectators of the greatest tragic comedy which has ever been enacted upon the stage of life. We have witnessed the actors going east so far that they have discovered themselves going west. Nationalism has degenerated into internationalism. Patriotism has been sold cheaply to the Shylocks of communism. Lincoln's admonition that the country exists *"for the people"* has been twisted and turned and changed into the philosophy that the people exist for the country. Christ's Gospel of charity which stretches out until it embraces every human being within its arms has been cabined in until it comprehends only the wealthy. Up has become down. Progress has become depression. In one word conservatism has became radicalism and a Christian nation has sunk beneath the ugliness of pagan Rome!

What road are we to take? The answer to that question is brief. He Who said *"I am the Way,"* has taught us to seek first the kingdom of God and His justice rather than the kingdom of gold and its oppression.

And as for the future, I have confidence that not only this material, economic depression shall pass away but also that the depression of ideals shall surrender to the principles of Jesus Christ.

The day is not far distant when down shall become up; when Christianity shall once more take its benign place within the sun of this world's glory provided that you in this audience and your children shall retrace your steps to the faith of your fathers and begin to live as well as believe the truths for which Christ suffered and died.

Knaves shall not always remain as heroes in the minds of the American people. I remember that not far distant from the battlefield of Saratoga where Burgoyne surrendered his army to the original American patriots, there was erected a monument in memory of those who were responsible for the victory. Four niches in that monument were designed for four statues of heroes.

Today the statues of Gates, of Schuyler and of Morgan remind visitors of their lasting heroism.

But there is an empty niche. (Benedict Arnold was one who also gained glory at Saratoga!)

Because of his treachery in attempting to sell out our nation to foreigners, posterity will always keep that niche empty to remind those who follow in his footsteps that their memory and their former good deeds will be consigned to oblivion if first and foremost they cannot preserve loyalty to their God and loyalty to their country!

"Quo Vadis?"

"Whither Goest Thou?"

I.

JUST outside the gates of Rome there is an humble church which long since has been known in popular literature as the *"Quo Vadis"* Church. *"Quo Vadis"* is a latinism which translated means: "Whither art thou going?"

According to tradition, it appears that in the age of Nero a general persecution of the Christians was ordered. Learning of this imperial mandate, some timid Christians approached Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, who, with St. Paul, was then resident at Rome. These Christians, very thoughtful for Peter's personal and physical welfare, urged him to forsake the city lest his life should be lost in this general persecution.

Under the cloak of night, with no lamp to light his way save the silvery shining of the stars above, Peter, lost in the folds of his great cloak, hurried out of Rome.

He had not gone so very far when, as the story goes, there appeared out of the shadows the figure of Jesus Christ. Upon His sacred countenance a look of sorrow was evident because His shepherd, like a hireling, was forsaking His sheep.

In astonishment Peter addressed His Divine Master with the words: "Quo Vadis"—"Whither goest Thou?"

The traditional story continues that Christ answered: *"To Rome again, Peter, to be crucified."* Imagine the apostle's chagrin at hearing this gentle reprimand as he was about to betray his trust.

Needless to say, with bowed head and chastened soul the impetuous Peter returned to the city.

The result was inevitable. The embers of bigotry, greed, lust for power and persecution were fanned by the winds of passion. The air was static with these forces.

At last the storm clouds broke. Peter witnessed the golden sands of the Flavian amphitheatre turned to crimson as they were dyed with the blood of his faithful followers. (In a few days he himself will feel the piercing of the nails in his hands as he will be crucified on an upturned cross for the love of Jesus Christ!)

The monument which partially bears out the story above narrated is the little church which the centuries have hallowed with the name of "Quo Vadis."

At this moment, my friends, I am not so much interested in this narrative which the loom of time has woven around the name of St. Peter as I am in those momentous words: "Whither goest Thou?"

This is the question which has been put fairly to the American nation during this past week.

Our Growth

Scarcely more than one hundred and fifty years ago this nation of the United States of America was established.

For the most part its pioneers were refugees. They had turned their backs upon Europe with its interminable wars. Preferring to face the unknown wilderness of this uncharted continent they gladly left behind the material luxuries of Europe together with its unbearable rule of decadent kingship and of class hatreds.

In the very beginning there was a desire on the part of our forefathers to establish a democracy. Eventually came the American War of Independence. Our memorable Constitution became the guiding star of our destiny. A new democracy was born to take its place among the nations of the world.

Literally, the word "democracy" means the rule of the people. It is distinguished from a 'monarchy' which is identified with the rule of one man, a king or an emperor. It holds nothing in common with the so-called 'aristocracy' which implies the rule of the best wherein the common people have little or no voice. It is totally opposed to that system of government known as 'plutocracy' which is associated with the thought that the reins of government must be controlled only by the hands of the rich. Above all it is foreign to the thought expressed by the word 'oligarchy' which means the rule of the few, the domination of the gang.

For one hundred and fifty years this young nation of the United States of America has been growing steadily. It passed through the vicissitudes of the Civil War. Dedicated to the policy of no foreign entanglements it witnessed the vast wilderness of its territory almost miraculously changed into a land of plenty and of prosperity.

All during this time America still remained a haven of refuge for the downtrodden of other nations. Our population grew rapidly. Millions of acres of untilled prairie land became rich in wheat and corn. Hundreds of cities sprang up where pine trees waved. The wheels of commerce and of industry moved with a certainty and rapidity which surpassed anything else in the history of mankind.

No wonder the American people were proud of their progress! No wonder did other nations desire to model their political structure after ours!

Eventually came the World War. It was fought for the principle to make the world safe for democracy. Rivers of blood were shed for the purpose of banishing class rule and of establishing the democratic principles to which were attributed both the power and the wealth of the United States.

Our Decay

According to the Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919, those who fought to make the world safe for democracy were victorious at the conclusion of the World War.

But in 1932 times have seriously changed. In 1832 there was a definite answer to that question "Whither goest Thou?" In 1932, however, we are in a quandary.

If I may use a metaphor, the United States has become a huge courtroom. There is a prisoner on trial. His accusers, who have brought suit against him, are unanimous in their testimony. Each tells the identical story of poverty which was artificially created. Each complains bitterly of the concentration both of wealth and of credit in the hands of oligarchs—in the hands of a few. Each bears witness to the disturbing fact that homes and farmlands are being confiscated in a wholesale manner. Public officialdom crippled by bribery; innocent children shot down on our public highways; a universal disrespect for law and order; prisons filled to overflowing; blind pigs as numerous as grocery stores and bootleggers more prosperous than bankers—these are the evidences which have been placed by an outraged public before the judge and jury. It is democracy who is on trial. The people of every State in our Union are the witnesses!

Such, my friends, is the conclusion at which many have arrived. But the truth of the matter is, it is not democracy that is on trial so much as it is the people of the United States.

No form of government is perfect. The human element in which there always mingle the streams of error, of ignorance, and of sin, is reflected in the execution of every law and in the development of every nation. If our democracy has decayed into a form of plutocracy and gang rule, the reason is to be attributed not to the inherent weakness of our Constitution but rather to the godlessness and hypocrisy of the citizens who live under it. If organized bands have usurped the power of our government, this tragedy reflects upon the people who have elected incompetent leaders.

It is no better than a wasted effort to rail at the international bankers who are perfectly organized for their own selfish ends. It is futile to waste time and energy criticizing the immoral concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. It is childish to harangue against the communist, or any other body of organized thugs, thieves, bandits and radicals, unless the citizens of a democratic country put aside their prejudices and, if necessary, their partyism to establish men in our Congress who will not only legislate these gangsters out of existence but who will execute some of the laws which are aimed against bootleggers and racketeers and gangsters and kidnapers.

A few days ago there was committed a crime, the heinousness of which has been impressed upon every thoughtful citizen. The nation's sympathy is tenderly placed before the anguished souls of Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh. Their sorrow has become our sorrow. It is to be hoped that the crime which has almost broken their hearts will awaken our nation to what is transpiring in our midst—that like Christ meeting Peter upon the highway we shall say to Him "Whither goest Thou?" And He shall say to us "To Rome to be crucified again!"

Reading an editorial from yesterday's "*Detroit Free Press*," the following remarks are most apposite:

"*Referring to the kidnaping of the Lindbergh baby, one of several hundred kidnapings in the last year, 'The New York Herald-Tribune' says: 'We think the truth must be conceded and faced, that the body of desperate criminals which has been recruited in the last decade is winning its battle against society.'*

"*Unhappily there is no ground for contradiction of the 'Herald-Tribune's' conclusion. Crime unquestionably has broadened its scope to include every species of racketeering. Its members ignore not only the police; they try, judge and execute. There is no limit to the effrontery of criminals, no real check on their activities, no law, statutory or moral, which they do not sneer at and override.*

"*The whole nation is their hunting ground and they rage over it, robbing, raping, kidnaping, blackmailing and assassinating where they will, levying billions of tribute each year and fighting murderous battles over the loot among themselves. And nobody really interferes much, except in isolated cases.*

"*We have not yet reached a point where we have started building fortified homes and walled towns in order to protect ourselves. Private armies for the protection of life and property are still novelties. But the armored car with armed guards is a commonplace in our financial districts and an ironical commentary on the general insufficiency of modern police protection. The pistol has become as common in the American pocket as the jack knife or key ring, and is a piece of furniture in nearly every home.*

"*Nobody relies with confidence upon the police, the courts and the law*" to function under conditions which are self-contradictory and impossible. A policeman may as well attempt to prevent the heavens from raining as to try to stop bootlegging and racketeering both of which are practiced and condoned by the Government itself. "*In some instances the agencies for protection do what they can, but they fight a losing war at best; and that is the plain truth of the matter.*"

In his news column published yesterday, Arthur Brisbane says: "*Any news except that concerning the stolen child is not news at all, now. The head of a great nation might die, any extraordinary event might occur, nothing could take the public's attention, its tense, pitiful interest from the Lindbergh kidnaping.*

"*That fact is a tribute to human nature and the soundness of its intuitions.*

"*The family is the foundation of society, all civilization is built upon it. And this most horribly outrageous invasion of the sanctity of the family makes every other conceivable happening seem unimportant.*

"*Life, family, children are not safe under our gangster rule, financed by prohibition.*"

More than two years ago, my friends, I had occasion to pronounce over this microphone that prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment were nothing but smoke screens to becloud the intelligence of the American people from the tragedy which was being enacted behind. At length we have penetrated this smoke screen of prohibition and have learned what is going on behind it. The Lindbergh kidnaping which has brought sorrow to the most beloved young couple in our nation has dissipated the last black clouds of the smoke screen behind which we have been groping. Instead of prosperity we find poverty in all its ugliness. Instead of a reduction of taxes there has been an increase of almost five times that which was exacted of us a decade ago.

While we have been busy fighting wordy wars and moralizing upon both the goodness and the badness of prohibition, the stock manipulators, the plutocratic trusts and the international bankers have so drained the country of its money that we are now on the threshold of creating a fictitious money through the power and efficacy of a printing press.

We, who thought that our representatives were really representing the people and their welfare, have discovered that too often they have become the hirelings of vested interests and pussy-footing prohibitionists. Not only have these things become evident during the past months. The past few hours have demonstrated that the bootleggers who were created by prohibition have become more influential and powerful than the arm of the law. Gang rule or oligarchy has superseded democracy!

The Gang Rule

My friends, as we venture upon such a subject, we find ourselves standing behind the smoke screen.

Fifty-eight years ago there was another kidnaping of a rather famous child. The legend of that kidnaping has passed down the decades of the century because it was singular in its occurrence. It stands out unique upon the pages of history. Those were the days of the so-called vicious saloon. The Charlie Ross kidnaping was the exception.

In this morning's paper alone I have read of four kidnapings in the godly days when crime would be eliminated, when our prisons would be closed, and when the angels would come down from heaven as they did upon the first Christmas Eve to sing "Glory to God in the highest"—the promises of the prohibitionists!

And instead of that, our prisons are triply filled to their capacity; instead of that, crime has been multiplied upon our streets and upon our highways; instead of the sanctity of the home being preserved, it is possible to make of every home a blind pig; and instead of the godliness of our children being preserved we find too many of them, even here on Woodward Avenue, within a stone's throw from the Shrine of the Little Flower, habituating places where I would be ashamed to find an enemy. The hip pocket has become the saloon of the children. We are just awakening to all that was behind the smoke screen!

A beautiful thing with which to engage our attention! A hypocritical thing to hide from us what was really behind the screen—a screen behind which was generated the germs of poverty, of oppression, of gangdom—gangdom among the international bankers, gangdom among the beer runners, gangdom among the racketeers—until we have more murders in the City of Detroit alone in one year than are recorded in the British Empire. The godlessness of prohibition!

And yet, my friends, at exactly five minutes after two o'clock this morning as I sat listening to the latest radio dispatches, my sense of security was shocked by the most outrageous commitment ever made by the American people.

Due to some letters that had passed between the abductors and Colonel Lindbergh, the poor, frantic father was driven to desperation. There was broadcast over a nationwide hook-up the fact that if these abductors were unwilling to deal directly with Colonel Lindbergh, he would appoint Salvy Spitale and Irving Bitz to be the go-betweens.

Do you know who these men are? They are not lawyers. They are not bankers. They are not clergymen. They are dressed up hoodlums. They are the gangsters who were associated with the Jack "Legs" Diamond murder. They are men notorious for racketeering and bootlegging. They are the new oligarchy who rule in these United States. When our policemen and our legal lights are unable to apprehend the abductors of the little Lindbergh child we, grovelling upon our knees, are forced to go to Al Capone and his assistants and ask them to try to execute and to judge the laws of our nation.

I have read the pages of Grecian and of Roman history. I am not ignorant of what has transpired throughout the ages in England. I am well acquainted with the historical movements here in our United States. But in all history there was never such an admission made as was chronicled a few hours ago. We must bend pregnant knees before gangsters and thugs, and tainted murderers!

And that is the extremity to which prohibition has brought us, prohibition that would make the world safe for democracy! It has made it safe for the gangster, for the oligarchs, for the racketeer, and for the thug, who by the power of his money and the cunning of his brain has dominated Federal Government and State Government and Municipal Government while we sit back idly letting holier-than-thou so-called Christians tell us that Christ invented prohibition. The truth is, it came from the unholy lips of Manes and Mohammed and not from Christ!

Of this statement which I have made previously over this microphone, I dare anyone even to attempt to disprove. And if they could attempt to disprove it and succeed, willingly I would pay the $50,000 reward which the oligarchs of rum-row have imposed upon the Lindbergh family.

"The New York Herald-Tribune" is perfectly sane in its comments as is "The Detroit Free Press" and thousands of other papers. It is high time that we wipe off our statute books and expurge from our Constitution the Amendment which has created the racketeer and which has built up the smoke screen behind which immorality from top to bottom has been carried on.

The crime of kidnaping little Charles Lindbergh is indirectly traceable to the ballots of the American people who voted for the hypocrisy of the Eighteenth Amendment and for the creation of gangster rule.

This is neither a Republican nor Democratic question. No matter to which party you owe allegiance refuse to cast your ballot in the primary elections except for a man who has the courage to uphold democracy and the fortitude to stand out foursquare against ten thousand Al Capones and his like.

"Whither goest Thou?" Twelve more years of this hypocrisy and I can answer where we go. I can tell you if you care to observe facts—governmental facts. I can assure you that we will not be able to raise enough taxes to build sufficient prisons in which to incarcerate those guilty of breaking the Eighteenth Amendment. And I can tell you that if this oligarchy, or gang rule, still persists—holy gangs and immoral gangs—both of them bureaucrating their way into Washington, edging their way into every position of society, democracy will have passed away and we shall meet Christ going down the highway of time—going back to Rome to be crucified, going back in our American annals to undo the glories of Yorktown, the sufferings of Valley Forge, and tearing into scraps the so-called Constitution that is becoming a mockery.

I have more confidence in the American people than to suspect that such a thing shall be allowed to continue.

An Appeal to The Kidnapers

THESE words, my friends, are not addressed to all of you. They are addressed, I hope, to those who know something about the kidnaping of Charles Lindbergh, Jr.

In one way, Mr. Kidnaper, I feel sorry for you. You have committed a crime. Like every other crime it was no sooner committed than your heart repented—repented, perhaps, for some material, personal reason because you knew that certainly the wages of sin will be death.

As a Catholic priest, I am interested in your repentance. But more than that I am interested in that you return little Charles Lindbergh to his mother's outstreched arms.

May I suggest to you a new way of returning that boy? In your anxiety and in your nervousness, perhaps, you are afraid to contact the police. Well, there is no need for that. If you look in your telephone directory, whether it is Philadelphia, or Patterson, or Newark, or New York, or Brooklyn, or wherever you are, you will find the name of some Catholic orphanage. Take the baby there.

Or if you prefer to take the child elsewhere there is some Catholic rectory or priest's house available.

I might interpose and tell you that you can impose upon that priest an absolute seal of confidence that he dare not break saving his priesthood. You make him your debtor. For God's sake think it over!

Just for a moment, remember when you were a little boy. For a moment remember your mother whose breast suckled you and whose arms encircled you. Just for a moment remember your mother who went down into the valley that you might have life. Oh, she loved you more than she loved the entire world. And she would have given her life for you, not only at your birth, but if it were possible for her she would lay down her life for you this moment to relieve you from the mental anguish in which you are suffering.

But there is another mother, too—Anne Lindbergh! Do you realize that you have her first baby? Do you realize that you are holding away from her arms flesh of her flesh and blood of her blood; that you are not injuring the baby half so much as you are crushing her heart as in a great press, making her bleed the wine of sorrow?

My God! If you have any manliness; if you have the least atom of love for your own mother within your heart, bring the baby to some orphanage or to some priest's house!

Or, if I could only know where you are, I would be glad to go there and take the child from your arms.

Won't you think these things over?

You might call it sentiment. But, my dear, misguided friend, there is such a thing as sentiment in this world. After religion, after the God Who made you, there is nothing half so holy in this world as the mother who bore you. And if you wish to call playing upon the heartstrings of mother love nothing but sentiment, it is still right, it is still holy, and it is still the greatest argument that I am sure can find a way into your heart to give it that first movement of repentance.

There are so many things that I would like to speak to you about. I would like to tell you, too, that this sacred little boy that you are handling with your dirty hands—I would like to tell you that one day you, too, were just as he. One day you, too, were curly headed; little soft hands, soft little heart, pure soul—pure as the driven snow!

You have put off the things of a boy and you have grown to manhood. You have left behind that corpse of your purity, of your goodness, and that image which Jesus Christ stamped upon your soul. Like another Judas you have taken and crucified Him and yourself with Him.

Are you not going to think of those things? Don't you believe in immortality? Can't you see the graveyards that surround you? Have you lost faith in the potency of the bullet? Don't you know that there is such a thing as death, punishment and hell? "Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting hell with the devil and his angels."

And you can also remember the good thief on the cross suffering the agonies of hell in this world, mocked and mimicked by those with whom he sinned, and, finally, crucified alongside Christ. He turned his head to Jesus Christ and made an act of faith in Him. And the gentle Christ in return spoke to him: "This day thou shalt be with Me in paradise."

You too, make that act of faith, Mr. Kidnaper, and you, too, will find that, though you are upon the cross; though you are suffering the agonies of the damned, at this moment you will hear a voice from out the wilderness that will change your soul into joy: "This day thou shalt be with Me in paradise."

Oh, if you are only listening, I know you will relent! "Greater love than this no man hath than he will lay down even his life for his friends." And by this one deed of justice, God knows that you will be able to wipe out the hard sins of your youth, the cruel deeds of your manhood and the madness that has made of you an outcast from society.

God bless you!

My friends, while I pause, kneel with me whether you are in your home or in a place of public assemblage! Together we will recite the "Lord's Prayer" that He will soften the hearts of those who have been responsible for this terrible crime:

Recite the "Lord's Prayer".

Ballots - Not Bullets!

YESTERDAY afternoon, a vast throng of Detroiters gathered to attend the simple funeral of four slain men. It was simple, in one sense. In another, it was unique to see a procession of 10,000 marching men, not one of them carrying an American flag. There were plenty of red flags.

As you know, last week there was a demonstration in which some of Detroit's jobless, suffering laborers participated. We since learned that this demonstration had been organized by the communists. However the thousands of those who marched through the streets of the City of Detroit were orderly and were obedient in every respect to the policemen who accompanied them. By no means were they all communists.

The object of the demonstrators was to march to the Ford automobile factories which are located not in Detroit but in the City of Dearborn adjacent to Detroit.

It appears that the jobless marchers had determined to send a delegation from their ranks to the Ford executives to ask for part-time jobs. But when they approached the Ford factory, radical leaders urged them to trespass upon private property. Promptly they were halted; greeted with tear gas bombs; covered with ice cold water which was shot at them out of a fire hose; and eventually bombarded with bullets as they persisted in their trespassing.

The four victims of this unfortunate occurrence were buried yesterday afternoon.

Some newspapers referred to this tragedy as a communist uprising. Undoubtedly there were communists who were the chief agitators and organizers. But the fact of the matter still remains that it is difficult for any sane man to comprehend why the communists should take action against the Ford Motor Company in view of the fact that Ford men and Ford money and Ford machinery probably have done more to perfect the Soviet Five-Year-Plan than was contributed by any other single agency in America.

It is generally understood that Soviet Russia and Henry Ford are on the best of terms. Hundreds of Russians sent here by their Government have been receiving instruction in the Ford plants. Hundreds of skilled American workmen have been sent by the Ford corporation to teach the Russians in their own Soviets.

Just yesterday a member of my own parish who is skilled in the art of processing iron was sent by the Ford organization to Soviet Russia to continue the policy mutually agreed upon some years ago.

I repeat, that it is difficult to comprehend how the communists could be responsible for this attack upon one of their greatest American benefactors.

Two conclusions are inevitable. The first is that if the communists of America profess responsibility and assume the questionable credit for the demonstration which resulted in the slaying of four men, they are not only trying to capitalize upon something which does not belong to them, but they are proving to the world that besides the doctrines of atheism, of irreligion and of internationalism, they also profess the policy of biting the hand that befriends them.

The second conclusion is very obvious: These jobless, hungry, dispossessed workmen were led into the streams of ice water and into the hail of bullets by a captain whose name is poverty. His able lieutenants were the supine legislators who during the three years of this depression, have executed not one single, tangible piece of legislation to benefit directly the American laborer, but who have led them from pillar to post by their rash optimism and by their vicious favoritism extended to the wealthy.

Railroads and banks are not abstract things. Railroads and banks are owned by thousands of stockholders; by men and women who are rich enough not only to possess their own homes and to supply their own needs but who also have a superfluous amount of money which they can invest in stock.

Now, during the last two or three weeks to these railroads and banks, or in other words, to these comfortable men and women who had the money to invest in them, loans amounting almost to a billion dollars have either actually been made or will be made.

More than that: during the past few years, loans totalling approximately $31,000,000,000 have been extended to foreign countries either directly or in bond issues to help maintain the jobless of foreign nations, all of which was accurately cited in a previous discourse over this microphone.

To return to the hunger march: let us not condemn too severely the jobless marchers who were beguiled into following the red radicals who promised them food. While we repudiate such leadership and condemn such methods, nevertheless, pause to consider:

Speaking of these jobless men who, through no fault of their own, have been reduced to this pitiable state and who are seeking jobs, may I quote for you what Mr. Daniel Willard, a through American and the President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad recently said. His words are these: *"I can think of nothing more deplorable than the condition of a man, able and anxious to work, with no resources but his labor and perhaps with others even more helpless dependent upon him.*

"Unless he is willing to starve and see those who justly look to him for support also starve, his only alternative is to seek charity, and, failing in that, to steal. And while I do not like to say so, I would be less candid if I did not say that in such circumstances I would steal before I would starve." Pause to consider: these four victims were not trying to steal. Under the leadership of radicals, they were trying to get work. The unfortunate thing is that they turned to follow such leadership—all of which reflects upon ourselves.

Now, what has been foreshadowed at the Ford factory in Dearborn, Michigan, is but the beginning of a tragedy that will be enacted on the streets of America if we permit the radicals to assume the leadership of our discontented and jobless citizenry.

We who in our greed have endeavored to extend our commercial and financial empire to the ends of the earth, remind one of the old fable of the dog crossing the bridge. In his mouth he had a bone. As he glanced into the depths of the waters he imagined that he saw a larger bone. So, into the water he plunged to capture the larger one, with the result that he lost everything that he had.

Our Opportunity

Did it ever occur to you that there is no immediate need on the part of some of our capitalists to develop foreign industry and neglect our own opportunities? Nor is there any altruism or magnanimous charity attached to such a policy if there be truth in the old saying that "charity begins at home."

Did it ever occur to you that there is a vast, undeveloped empire bounded by the Golden Gate and the Statue of Liberty, by the warm waters of the Gulf and the frozen shores of the Great Lakes? Quoting from a survey made by the American Federation of Labor, we have here in the United States of America five million families who are living below the minimum of the health requirements of food. There are four million five hundred thousand families with barely enough to sustain life at its level. Here are nine million five hundred thousand families or more than thirty-three million persons who are eager to buy the products of our automobile industry, of our textile industry, or of any other industry if their incomes permitted it.

Add to these seven million families of Americans who own no automobile; the twenty million families who, as yet, possess no efficient radio set; the four million families in whose homes there is not a bath tub; the thirteen million families whose homes are not even wired for electricity. What a stupendous, undeveloped empire within our very midst!

Why need we spend lavishly of our American dollars abroad to develop foreign nations; to build up foreign industries; to alleviate the impoverished conditions of foreign peoples when within our very gates there is a huge, virgin market ready for our products? Multiply these figures above mentioned by four to acquire the number of persons actually affected. Conservatively you have a population greater than that of the British Isles; greater than the population of France; outnumbering the people of the Kingdom of Italy; equal to the one-time German Empire.

The distant fields of internationalism appear all the greener to the greedy eyes of those who are blind to the land of their birth and to the uplifted hands of the fellow citizens who have helped them amass their stupendous fortune. But the immense profits made by cheap foreign labor is the siren song which coaxes the flow of gold from our American institutions.

View the situation from another angle. We have in the great Mississippi Valley an empire of sufficient acreage and square mileage to accommodate a population of one hundred and twenty million people over and above those who already claim that district as their homes. These figures are arrived at by taking the ratio at which the average English square mile is already populated. Or if you take Belgium and its rate per average square mile of population, there is sufficient accommodation in that Mississippi Valley alone for one hundred and eighty million persons. More than one hundred and twenty million potential citizens and consumers of our produce equivalent to the present total population of the United States!

If mass production cannot subsist without mass consumption; if at least ten foreign markets are more or less lost to us by the fact that their own people are beginning to mass produce their own necessities, why need we Americans lose hope and courage when there is at our hand's reach a potential empire almost as great as the ten of them put together?

With a controlled mass production, there is still a sane outlet for American money. Keep American money for American people. It was made by the sweat of American brows. If it must be exported to help wage an industrial war against our own laborers, place an export tax upon it!

Greedily, to gain the domination of the foreign world, our international bankers and international industrialists are tempted to drop the bone of "America First", hoping to possess themselves of the entire world. The result will be that they will have nothing unless they forego the greed that is born of international industrialism.

No wonder the Philadelphia Record says editorially on Monday, February 15th that *"there is every reason why we should place an embargo on gold. Europe is refusing to pay its debts to us but at the same time is draining our gold as fast as it can lay its hands on it."* We have made a mistake with our policy of gold for foreigners; food for foreigners, but none for the American workman.

In the meantime, forty million bushels of wheat valued at approximately $1,000,000 has been the only direct assistance which the Government has given to the millions of helpless Americans who are not only jobless but who are becoming hopeless.

Forty million bushels are only crumbs dropped from the opulent table of Dives. Crumbs to the jobless, crumbs to the dogs!

My fellow Americans, there is more than a sentiment growing among the people of the United States. Their tears, their sufferings and their poverty have crystallized watery sentiment into the solidity of conviction.

If a shot fired at Lexington or Concord was heard round the world, so the shots fired at Dearborn shall not be easily muffled unless we bend every effort not only to relieve the laborer from his distressing conditions but also to lead him thoughtfully and surely away from the siren voice of destructive communism.

Laboring men, I have a word for you: Place no undue blame upon the shoulders of Henry Ford. Undoubtedly he has done his best during this year of depression to supply work and food and shelter to many thousands.

Were you or I in his place, perhaps, we would have managed less efficiently than he has done. His organization of itself is not able to employ the eight million unemployed.

My friend, the laborer, I have been most outspoken in coming to your defense. Will you hear me and believe me when I tell you of the communism which is dicing for your approval and for your support?

Communism is by no means a product of Russia. It is international. It hopes to amalgamate the workers of the world in one great nation known as the human race. It was the deposed German Emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm, who sent a sealed train which carried the fathers of the Russian Revolution into Moscow. Trotzky from New York, Lenin from Germany, Bella Kun from Hungary. Men from every nation who long since had devoted themselves to the anarchy, the atheism, and the treachery preached by Karl Marx, were those who devised the slaughter of more than 1,700,000 religious-minded Russians and set up a government known as the 'Godless.' Openly they professed their hostility to American imperialism as they termed it.

Openly, at this very instant, they are plotting the overthrow of our Constitution hoping for the realization of an international government. The word 'international' is their morning star of hope and their evening star of achievement.

Listen to what Lenin, the great apostle of communism has to say. Be intelligent enough to believe him. On page 61, volume 16, of his 'Complete Works' he says: "*It is not in Russia that the complete world revolution will be obtained, but only when the proletariat has won the victory in the majority of advanced countries.*" In the same volume, page 102, he writes: "*We exist not only in a state but in a system of states: The existence of the Soviet Republic along side imperialist states cannot long continue.*" On page 129 of that same volume he further states: "*That looking at things from the plane of world history there is no doubt that the final victory of our revolution, if there were no revolutionary movements in other countries, would be impossible.*" Can plainer words be used to tell you of their ambitions in America? They want revolution by blood, by slaughter. And you want peace and work and happiness gained through the power, not of bullets, but of ballots.

Now, gradually, the Lenin plan has been working out.

Today there is a political upheaval rumbling amidst the springtime breezes of Germany. Today Nationalists and Communists are fighting to overthrow the Von Hindenburg Government.

The political upheaval which is thundering along the banks of the Rhine shall reverberate up the stream of the Thames and along the shores of the Potomac if Christian, common sense does not soon come to replace the policies of pagan greed.

Mr. Laboring Man, no one with intelligence wants to become a communist. Communism is nothing more than an unintelligent effort to escape from the idleness and the poverty; from the political favoritism, from the unjust concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and from the unsupportable taxation which threaten us.

Be intelligent and use the American method of ballots—not the Bolshevik method of bullets.

In 1776, long before communism raised aloft its bloody flag and cried aloud its murderous doctrines, our forefathers fought against these damnable evils. Victory came to them. The Constitution was written. But through your carelessness and my carelessness we have let slip through our fingers the priceless jewel of liberty. Have we not permitted hypocritical gangsters to lead us? Have we not witnessed gangsters dominating our officials? Have we not beheld our country handed over to the policy that the "many exist for the few"?

This was your fault and my fault, because we were either slackers when it came to vote or else dumber than oxen when we did vote. In the future let us elect men who are for the people. Let us stick fast to the Constitution.

Mr. Laborer, you are not the only one complaining bitterly against the abuses which weigh so heavily upon us. Listen to what the Editor of the Detroit Free Press says:

"Originally intended only to administer the States' external affairs, Government in Washington has been loaded down with domestic functions that imperil the Nation financially, as well as administratively. One organized minority after another has log-rolled and back-scratched its pet schemes through Congress until the Nation is in danger of sinking under the burden of taxation. The Federal Farm Board is an excellent example of agencies bludgeoned out of Congress, which tax the whole country, without benefiting even the limited classes demanding them. Another is the National Prohibition system, which deprives the Government of the revenue formerly coming to it from the excise on liquor, and saddles it with the cost of farcical 'enforcement' and indirectly with the cost of combating a crop of crime that has sprung up as from its roots.

"Government aids, Government forced further and further into the field of private business, Government made a busybody, attempting to do for States and individuals what they should do for themselves—all these things are partly responsible for the fiscal plight in which the country stands today. Congressmen know that. The trouble is that only a few of them have the intestinal fortitude to say so. . . ." We have watched our Government enter into every phase of national life. It has helped every sort of individual and corporation. But it has not turned its hand once to help directly the eight million jobless Americans who know not where to turn.

"The people are waking up to the menace of a bureaucracy grown bloated in an era of easy money. They are becoming articulate. They realize now that taxes can be just as burdensome when voted by their own representatives, as when imposed

by George III and his ministers. A revolt against unnecessary taxation is under way in this country. The taxpayers need their money far more than do most of the holders of bureaucratic jobs under the Government." So says the ultra-conservative, Republican "Detroit Free Press".

Every protest against things as they are is not communistic any more than was the protest made in 1776 as intimated by the editorial which I have just read. But things as they are some times are identified with the policy of a King George; some times are identified with pagan stupidities; some times are associated with the usurpation of our political power and of our American liberty by grasping bankers, lobbyists and bureaucrats who have become the chief dictators and counsellors of a financial minded Government.

My friend, Mr. Laborer, God only knows that mine is nothing more than a voice pleading to keep distant from America the terrors of Moscow and the horrors of communism.

God only knows that Americans at heart are not communists and never will be such. Communists are not born. They are made. No man freely chooses atheism; no man relinquishes the hope to own his own home or to cherish his own wife. No man wants to become labeled with a number in a militaristic State. But sometimes the greed and the selfishness of the capitalist drive him to it. I know that you have more intelligence than to do such a thing. You have a ballot. The poor Russian had only a barbaric bullet!

Fellow Americans, if today the communists are promising to the laborer and to the farmer what both Republican and Democrat formerly promised and failed to accomplish, then let our political parties of tomorrow become of the people and for the people and not for the chosen few.

After one hundred fifty years, how proud would we be if today we could report to our forefathers that the Republic is more secure and constant and powerful and great than at any other time in its history!

In potentialities, our country is "more truly great". But in actualities it has sunk to its lowest depths from which we shall rise and, please God, which we shall never see again.

Our Republic is "more secure"! With its navy weakened, its army demoralized and its officers of the law calling upon the gangsters of the land to come to their assistance!

Our Republic "more constant"! And yet we have lived to see the day when the advice of Washington and his foreign entanglements has been torn like a scrap of paper.

Our country "more truly great"! Yes, if greatness is identified with the fact that our banks are choking with gold and hoarding it in their vaults; if our public utilities have made more money during the years of the depression than at any other time in their history; if our churches have been emptied; if our streets have been filled with eight million unemployed; if the ferocity of the Indian savage has been outdone by the ferocity of the rum runner and kidnaper; if taxation has been multiplied to an unbearable degree; if these and a thousand more elements that have crept into our national life are treated as mere fancies and fairy dreams, then we are "truly great".

My friends, there is something deeper, more substantial which has been removed from the foundation of our national life than the mere loss of money and loss of jobs. Although some will blame mass productionism; although others will cry out against internationalism; although a few will trace all our evils to the mockery of prohibition, yet underneath all of these, there is the lack of Christian charity. That is the main foundation which has been destroyed.

How dare I make that assertion in face of the fact of the millions of dollars which have been raised during this past year to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and to shelter the homeless?

But, my friends, that is not necessarily charity, according to its Christian interpretation.

What does St. Paul say? *"If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."*

What does the Apostle of the Gentiles mean by this statement? He means nothing more than this: That charity is not identified necessarily with feeding the poor or with clothing the naked.

Charity is more than that. Define it if you will as the love of God and the love of your fellowman as yourself, and then do you understand its implication? Charity means seeking first the kingdom of God and His justice rather than seeking banks filled with gold. Charity is identified with loyalty to the principles for which Christ lived and died rather than loyalty to the fictitious principles of a political party. Charity towards your fellowman recollects for you the fact that whatsoever you do unto the least of Christ's little ones you do unto Him. Charity means seeing Christ in every Magdalen; visualizing Christ in every ragged piece of humanity; viewing Christ in every human being.

If the promoter and financier and industrialist believed in the doctrines of Jesus Christ he would no more exploit his fellowman than would he sell the Master for thirty pieces of silver.

My friends, today is Passion Sunday. If we and millions more like ourselves have suffered from the lash of poverty, remember that the God Who created us was born in a cold stable; let those who have been dispossessed of their homes remember that the Son of Man had nowhere to place His head. If the laborer or the farmer have been disparaged by a Government erected to defend them, Christ was betrayed by a Pilate who feared the enmity of a Caesar. He, the God of all might, of all wealth, stooped down into the gutter of our infirmities; became like unto the meanest of us in all things save sin.

Although He castigated the pharisees of His day for having placed unbearable taxes upon the shoulders of His brothers, nevertheless, He did not promise us that the world would be freed of pharisees until the end of time. He has blessed us a millionfold, however, in that He gave us the privilege of our democratic ballots. Guided by His inspiration, we can rectify any national or industrial evils which appear among us.

Meanwhile, these are days of suffering. These are the days of Calvary which precede the joys of Easter morn.

Thus, on this Passion Sunday and next Sunday, when there will be enacted for us the trial and death of Jesus Christ, I implore you, my friends, not to measure life by the cradle and the grave; not to count as great the mere possession of gold which you cannot take with you into the world beyond, but count that man as great who, despite the vicissitudes of life, can raise aloft the standard of Christ's flag; can sing in his heart the principles of Christ's charity; and if necessary, can trudge beside the Master along the highway of this Jerusalem up the steeps of Calvary and bow his head in resignation while his hands and heart and feet are pierced with the nails of greed and the spear point of oppression.

"Father forgive them for they know not what they do!", spoke Christ of old from the throne of His cross to those who murdered Him. *"This day shalt thou be with Me in paradise!"*, spoke He to the good thief and to the ten million good thieves who have courage to suffer and, if necessary, die in order to be born again in the eternal courts of heaven.

In conclusion, may I read for you a portion of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians which outlines for us the meaning of charity:

> *"If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.*
>
> *"And If I should have prophecy and should know all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.*
>
> *"And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.*
>
> *"Charity is patient, is kind; charity envieth not, dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up,*
>
> *"Is not ambitious, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh no evil:*
>
> *"Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth:*
>
> *"Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.*
>
> *"Charity never falleth away whether prophecies shall be made void or tongues shall cease or knowledge shall be destroyed.*
>
> *"For we know in part: and we prophecy in part.*

"But when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away.

"When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. But, when I became a man, I put away the things of a child.

"We see now through a glass in a dark manner: but then face to face. Now I know in part: but then I shall know even as I am known.

"And now, there remain faith, hope and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity."

Date Due

DEC 3 '62	FEB 18 2003		
MR 7 '67	8/16/08		
JA 12 '68	MEL# 23481523		
JA 27 '68	Shipped 6/20/11		
FE 10 '68			
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